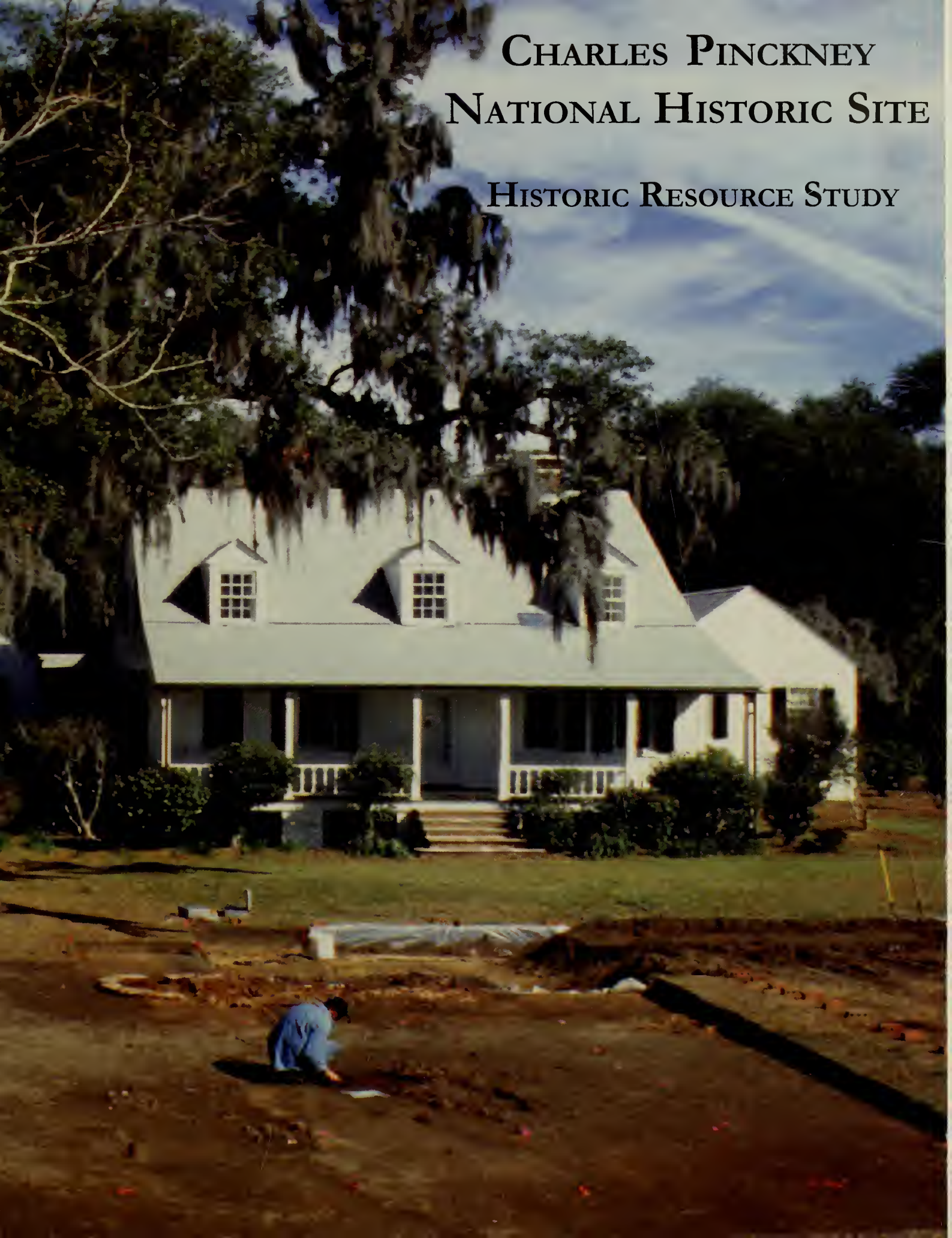
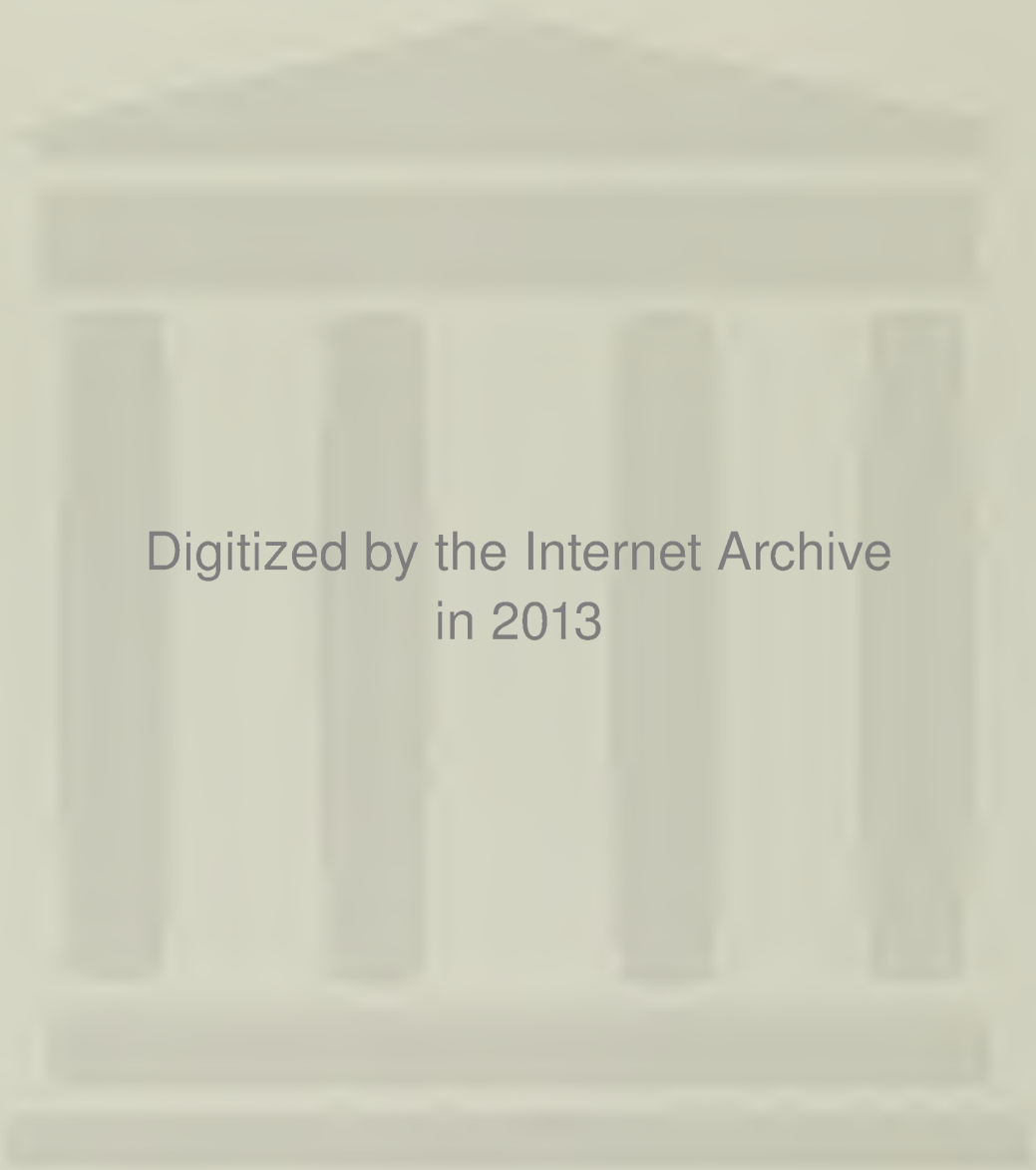


# Charles Pinckney National Historic Site

## Historic Resource Study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# CHARLES PINCKNEY NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

# HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

August 2000

Robert W. Blythe
Emily Kleine
Steven H. Moffson

Cultural Resources Stewardship
Southeast Regional Office
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
Atlanta, Georgia

On the cover: Archeological Dig at Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, 1996.
Photo courtesy of the Southeast Archeological Center, Tallahassee, Florida.

Foreword

We are pleased to make available this historic resource study, as part of our ongoing effort to provide comprehensive documentation for the historic structures and landscapes of National Park Service units in the Southeast Region. Following a field survey of park resources and extensive research, the project team updated the park's List of Classified Structures, developed historic contexts, and prepared new National Register of Historic Places documentation. Many individuals and institutions contributed to the successful completion of this work. We would particularly like to thank Charles Pinckney National Historic Site Superintendent John Tucker and his staff, and Southeast Archeological Center Chief Archeologist Bennie Keel for their assistance. This study was made possible through a cooperative agreement with the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation.

Kirk A. Cordell
Chief, Cultural Resources Stewardship
Southeast Regional Office
August 2000

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# INTRODUCTION

## Description of Charles Pinckney National Historic Site

Charles Pinckney National Historic Site (the Park) commemorates the life and public services of Charles Pinckney (1757-1824), a prominent South Carolina attorney and statesman who was an important drafter of the United States Constitution. The site contains twenty-eight of the original 715 acres of Snee Farm, a plantation property that Pinckney inherited from his father in 1782 and owned until 1816. Charles Pinckney owned several plantations in addition to Snee Farm, as well as a large town house at 16 Meeting Street in Charleston.[1] Easily reached from Charleston by boat, Snee Farm was both a working plantation and an accessible country retreat for Pinckney.

Public Law 100-421, enacted September 8, 1988, authorized the establishment of Charles Pinckney National Historic Site. The legislation directed the Secretary of the Interior to "(1) provide the interpretation of the life of Charles Pinckney; (2) preserve and interpret Snee Farm, home of Charles Pinckney; and (3) present the history of the United States as a young Nation."[2] House of Representatives Report 100-698 elaborated on the site's purpose by calling for the interpretation of the history of all the site's inhabitants, slave as well as free.[3]

The site lies on the Wando Neck, formed by the Wando River on the northwest, the Cooper River estuary on the southwest and the Atlantic Ocean tidal marshes on the southeast. Less than five miles from the ocean, the site lies within the ten-mile-wide Coastal Zone of the Atlantic Coastal Plain. The Coastal Zone is characterized by flat terrain with numerous fresh and salt water marshes in low-lying areas, maritime forest communities and cleared agricultural land on higher ground. Elevations on the Wando Neck range from five to twenty-five feet above mean sea level. The sand and clay soils of the Wando Neck uplands are remnants of ancient coastal barrier islands.[4] The site is within the corporate limits of the city of Mt. Pleasant, in Christ Church Parish, Charleston County, South Carolina, approximately ten miles east of the city of Charleston. Entrance to the site is from Long Point Road, approximately one-half mile northwest of its intersection with U.S. Highway 17.

In the eighteenth century, Christ Church Parish contained a number of large plantations that concentrated on the production of rice, South Carolina's most important staple crop prior to the invention of the cotton gin. Relying on large slave populations, Christ Church plantations such as Long Point, Bermuda, Egypt, Palmetto Grove, Snee Farm, and Boone Hall carried on operations into the antebellum period. These coastal plantations typically included a main house, slave quarters, and outbuildings surrounded by agricultural land. On the Wando Neck, plantations often had river landings for travel to and from Charleston. Declining rice production and the disruptions of the Civil War resulted in the subdivision of many plantations by 1870. Truck farming, livestock raising, and limited cotton cultivation became the major agricultural activities. Conveyed by Pinckney to trustees in 1816 and sold in 1817, Snee Farm had a number of subsequent owners, one of whom built a new main house, probably in the 1820s. Snee Farm remained intact as an agricultural property into the twentieth century, although by the 1930s, Snee Farm had more the character of a country vacation residence than a working farm.[5]

The burgeoning suburban development of Christ Church Parish in the last twenty years finally resulted in the break-up of the Snee Farm property. Subdivisions and a golf course were built on portions of the original Snee Farm property in the early 1970s. A developer purchased the plantation in 1986 and roads were rough graded and some utilities were installed. In 1988, the Friends of Historic Snee Farm purchased twenty-eight acres of Snee Farm, including the main house and surviving outbuildings. Following Congressional authorization of the site, the Friends of Snee Farm sold the site to the National Park Service at approximately 30% of its appraised value, donating the remaining value of the site to the Park and thus ensuring the preservation of the core of Snee Farm.[6]

The site is an irregularly shaped, roughly rectangular parcel approximately fifteen feet above sea level. A three-acre forested wetland occupies the western portion of the site, where a drainage ditch forms the site boundary. Mixed pines and hardwoods and several pecan trees are present east of the main house. Ornamental plantings dating mostly to the 1930s, including magnolias, camellias, and azaleas, are also present. The remainder of the site is grassed. Residential subdivisions now surround the site on the west, south, and east. To the north, on the far side of Long Point Road, is Boone Hall Plantation, a privately owned historic site with a reconstructed main house, original outbuildings, and extensive grounds.[7]

Site cultural resources include the main house, a barn/stable, a corncrib, a caretaker's residence, and a stone cenotaph to Charles Pinckney's father. The site's circa 1820s main house replaced the plantation house extant during Charles Pinckney's ownership. Around

*Figure 1, Vicinity map, Charles Pinckney National Historic Site*

1936, Snee Farm's owner, Thomas Ewing, added two symmetrical wings to the back of the house, and constructed a number of outbuildings, including the caretaker's residence. The Ewings constructed the current barn between 1944 and 1945. The cenotaph, a replica of one erected by Charles Pinckney in the 1780s, was placed on the site sometime after World War II, probably in the 1950s. Snee Farm contains important archeological resources that enhance the understanding of Charles Pinckney and daily life on South Carolina coastal plantations.

### Charles Pinckney's National Importance

Charles Pinckney (1757-1824) was an important political figure in South Carolina and nationally in the early years of the American Republic. A Revolutionary War veteran and a member of the Continental Congress, Pinckney was one of four South Carolina delegates to the 1787

Constitutional Convention, where he presented a plan for a new government and spoke often in the debates. A three-term South Carolina governor before 1800, Pinckney was instrumental in establishing the Jeffersonian Republican Party in his native state. As reward for his part in electing Thomas Jefferson to the presidency in 1800, Pinckney represented the United States as minister to Spain from 1801 to 1805. Upon his return to South Carolina, Pinckney resumed his position as the head of the state Republican Party, serving in the state legislature and gaining a fourth term as governor. Pinckney closed out a distinguished career of public service with a term in the U.S. House of Representatives (1819-1821).

A number of factors complicate the task of fairly evaluating Charles Pinckney's lasting importance. The plan he presented for a constitution at the 1787 convention in Philadelphia was lost, making its significance a subject of recurring controversy. An 1861 Charleston fire destroyed his personal papers, forcing historians to rely on Pinckney letters scattered among numerous collections, his published speeches and pamphlets, and the surviving comments of contemporaries. Pinckney's tendency to exaggerate his own merits clouds many of his assertions. In spite of these difficulties, it is clear that Pinckney was a significant national figure who frequently has been underestimated.

Charles Pinckney was born into the South Carolina low-country aristocracy on October 26, 1757. His father, Colonel Charles Pinckney,[8] was one of South Carolina's leading lawyers, and his mother, Frances Brewton Pinckney, was the sister of Miles Brewton, a wealthy Charleston merchant and slave trader. Tutors prepared young Pinckney for a life befitting his social status. He studied French, Greek, and Latin with the intention of continuing his studies in England, as was the custom of the time.[9] However, growing unrest between England and the American colonies curtailed these plans. Charles Pinckney instead studied law in his father's office. Upon the successful completion of his studies in 1779, he was admitted to the South

*Figure 2, Charles Pinckney*

Carolina Bar.[10] After the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Pinckney joined the Charles Towne Militia Regiment, commanded by his father. In October 1779, Charles Pinckney fought in the unsuccessful Franco-American attempt to retake Savannah from the British. During this time, Pinckney also served as a member of the South Carolina Assembly from 1779-1780, and attended legislative sessions in Charleston.[11]

*Figure 3, General William Moultrie*

Following the fall of Charleston in April 1781, Charles Pinckney became a British prisoner. The British briefly paroled Pinckney to his Charleston home and then held him in the prison ship *Pack Horse* in Charleston harbor. In the summer of 1781, the British agreed to a prisoner exchange and moved Charles Pinckney to Philadelphia, the place of exchange. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and General William Moultrie of the Continental Army were held prisoner at Snee Farm. Moultrie noted, "Col. [Charles Cotesworth] Pinckney and I were in excellent quarters at Mr. Pinckney's place called Snee Farm."[12]

Pinckney's father, Colonel Pinckney, fled Charleston with South Carolina Governor John Rutledge, before the Patriot surrender of the city. Rutledge intended to carry on a state government in exile in North Carolina. However, Colonel Pinckney never made it to North Carolina. He returned to Charleston and swore loyalty to British authority, a move that allowed him to keep his property. Colonel Pinckney's surrender aroused the wrath of South Carolina Patriots. As retribution, in February 1782, the South Carolina legislature voted a 12% amercement of Colonel Pinckney's property to punish his switch of allegiance.[13] In spite of pleas by Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and South Carolina Congressman Arthur Middleton that he return to South Carolina to help his father, Charles Pinckney did not return to Charleston. He instead chose to remain in Philadelphia until the end of the war. Colonel Pinckney died on September 22, 1782, leaving Snee Farm and other property to Charles, his oldest surviving son.[14]

In March 1784, the South Carolina legislature selected Charles Pinckney as a delegate to the Continental Congress, where he served from November 1784 until February 1787. Earlier, in 1783, Pinckney had demonstrated his interest in government by publishing three

pamphlets that urged a more reliable funding mechanism for the national government. In the Congress, Pinckney became acquainted with national figures like John Jay and Robert R. Livingston of New York, James Monroe of Virginia, and Rufus King of Massachusetts. He was an active member from the start, serving on important committees and earning the respect of fellow members. In 1786 and early 1787, Pinckney led the congressional effort to strengthen the national government, then operating under the Articles of Confederation. In March 1786, Pinckney was part of a three-member congressional delegation sent to New Jersey to persuade that state's legislature not to withdraw financial support from the Continental Congress.[15] Addressing the legislature, he proposed that New Jersey "urge the calling of a general convention of the states for the purpose of increasing the powers of the federal government and rendering it more adequate for the ends for which it was instituted."[16] Pinckney repeated his call for a convention before Congress in May 1786 and served on a committee that in August 1786 unsuccessfully recommended seven amendments to the Articles of Confederation.[17] In the confederation's final years, no politician worked harder than Pinckney to bring about a stronger national government.

*Figure 4, Revolutionary War in Charleston*

Dissatisfaction with the Articles of Confederation was widespread, and Pinckney was not alone in calling for a new governmental structure. Alexander Hamilton proposed a constitutional convention in 1780, and in 1783, Hamilton joined Virginia's James Madison in suggesting a general convention. When a Virginia-sponsored convention on trade issues drew delegates from just five states in September 1786, the frustrated attendees proposed a general convention of the states for May 1787 in Philadelphia. In February 1787, after five states had already named delegates, the Continental Congress cautiously endorsed the convention.[18] Every state except Rhode Island sent a delegation to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. The South Carolina legislature named Charles Pinckney, his cousin Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Pierce Butler, and John Rutledge to represent the state.[19]

At twenty-nine, Charles Pinckney was one of the youngest convention delegates, but he

showed no reluctance to present his views. He introduced a comprehensive plan of a constitution early in the proceedings and spoke more than one hundred times from the floor. Pinckney argued forcefully for a strong federal government, was reluctant to give too much power directly to the electorate, and worked to protect the special interests of the southern states, particularly slavery.

Controversy has swirled around the "Pinckney Draft" presented by the South Carolina delegate on May 29, 1787, immediately following Edmund Randolph's introduction of the Virginia Plan, written by Madison. Introducing his plan, Pinckney noted that it was based on the same principles—a strong national government and a separation of powers—as the Virginia Plan.[20] No copy of the original Pinckney Draft has survived. Thirty-one years after the convention, in 1818, Pinckney supplied Secretary of State John Quincy Adams with a version of his draft that Pinckney believed was substantially similar to the lost original.[21] In 1903 and 1904, scholars reconstructed the Pinckney Draft from notes found in Pennsylvania delegate James Wilson's papers.[22] Pinckney's 1818 draft roughly corresponds to the reconstructed draft but incorporates substantially greater detail and includes some provisions that Pinckney vigorously opposed on the convention floor. These discrepancies have led some historians to accuse Pinckney of deliberately exaggerating his role at the convention, while others suggest that Pinckney's memory may have failed him.

Historians' assessments of the Pinckney Draft's impact on the Constitution's final form vary widely. Many of the ideas embodied in the Pinckney Draft were common intellectual property in 1787 and cannot be ascribed to him alone. A bicameral legislature, for example, was a key component of both the Virginia and Pinckney plans, although the specific terms "House of Representatives" and "Senate" probably came from the Pinckney Draft.[23] Pinckney's influence on the final draft appears clearly in the prohibition of religious qualifications for federal offices, the protection of the writ of habeas corpus, and the stipulation that the executive be one individual rather than plural. The Constitution, however, would have been a far different document had Pinckney prevailed in all areas. He argued in vain for high property qualifications for federal offices: $100,000 for the presidency and $50,000 for Congressmen. In common with Madison, he wanted representation based on population in the Senate, rather than the equal representation for each state that was adopted. Pinckney also joined Madison's unsuccessful effort to grant the U.S. Congress veto power over state laws. To protect the South, where the slave labor-based economy depended on agricultural exports, Pinckney requested a two-thirds majority for all laws regulating commerce and navigation. Suspicion of a volatile electorate led him to suggest election of the House of Representatives by the state legislatures. Both proposals were rejected.[24]

Pinckney's finest moment at the convention came on June 25 when he eloquently argued against the relevance of the British governmental model for the United States. In Pinckney's view, the lack of a hereditary nobility and the presence of ample open land on the frontier would have a leveling influence on American society, providing economic and political opportunity for all. In this address, Pinckney demonstrated an optimism about America's future and a faith in its opportunities for personal advancement. These ideas remained hallmarks of Pinckney's political philosophy throughout his life.[25] Pinckney also demonstrated his vision in convention debates by unsuccessfully proposing the protection of freedom of the press and other civil liberties and the establishment of a national university.[26]

Pinckney led the effort to secure ratification of the Constitution in South Carolina. He addressed the South Carolina legislature on the document's merits and played a major role in the state's ratifying convention, which approved the document on May 23, 1788.[27] The new national government began operations under the Constitution in March 1789, with George Washington as president and John Adams of Massachusetts as vice president. Washington's cabinet included two strong personalities with opposing views of the nation's future. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton favored the development of industry and financial institutions as well as strong ties with England. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, by contrast, wanted an agrarian republic untainted by a rigid class structure and was sympathetic to the goals of the French Revolution.[28]

In the 1790s, two national political parties emerged from these opposing viewpoints: Hamilton adherents became Federalists, while Jeffersonians became Republicans.[29] In South Carolina, Charles Pinckney moved into the Republican camp, while his cousins, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney, remained staunch Federalists. Another South Carolina Constitutional Convention delegate, Pierce Butler, also became a Republican. President Washington's failure to appoint Charles Pinckney to a federal post, while giving important diplomatic appointments to both of his cousins, may have influenced Pinckney's move into the Republican Party. Pinckney also probably perceived the strong appeal of Republicanism

*Figure 5, Constitutional Convention*

to upcountry yeoman farmers and planters, who were gaining power in South Carolina politics. Perhaps most importantly, the individualism and belief in progress characteristic of Republicanism reflected Pinckney's own expansive and optimistic outlook. Pinckney broke with the Federalist Party in 1795 over the issue of the Jay Treaty, which he considered too favorable to Britain, and remained a committed Republican through the rest of his life.[30]

*Figure 6, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney*

After serving as South Carolina's governor from 1789 to 1792 and again from 1796 to 1797, Pinckney in 1798 was chosen U.S. Senator by the state legislature. In the Senate, he vigorously opposed President John Adams's Federalist administration. The 1800 presidential election pitted Republicans Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr against Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Charles Pinckney worked tirelessly to carry South Carolina for Jefferson and defeat his cousin's vice presidential bid. When Jefferson won the presidency with the help of South Carolina's electoral votes, he appointed Pinckney United States minister to Spain.[31]

*Figure 7, Thomas Pinckney*

Pinckney accepted his foreign assignment with enthusiasm and traveled extensively in the Netherlands and France before assuming his duties in Madrid in late 1801. Pinckney's initial goal was to settle American shippers' claims arising out of seizures by Spanish and French cruisers of neutral American vessels during war with Britain. Pinckney's mission was complicated by France's 1803 sale of the Louisiana Territory to the United States. Spain had been forced to cede Louisiana to France in a secret 1800 treaty on the condition that France never dispose of it to another country. The Spanish government was ultimately powerless to prevent France from selling Louisiana, but the sale and the American claim that part of Spanish West Florida was included in the Louisiana Purchase soured Spanish-American relations. Pinckney exceeded his

instructions from Secretary of State James Madison by threatening war with Spain over the West Florida claim, which he had been told not to press until Minister Extraordinary James Monroe arrived in Madrid. The American government essentially disavowed Pinckney's actions, but allowed him to participate in Monroe's futile negotiations with the Spanish government in early 1805.[32] Madison described Pinckney's agency in Spain as "very faulty as well as feeble,"[33] but given the attitude of the Spanish government, no American minister could have obtained West Florida at the time. Pinckney sailed for Charleston in October 1805.[34]

After Pinckney's return to South Carolina in 1806, his Republicanism increasingly emphasized the protection of southern interests and states' rights. In contrast to the 1780s, when he saw chaos looming as a result of the weakness of the federal government, in later years Pinckney sought to restrain the federal government from unwarranted interference with the states. He especially feared that northern commercial and financial interests would dominate the national government to the detriment of the South, which depended on agricultural exports and slavery. Pinckney's views foreshadowed those of John Calhoun and others who subsequently asserted the right of a state to nullify a national law or secede from the union if regional interests were ignored by the federal government. Pinckney maintained his commitment to Republicanism during his last term as governor from December 1806 to December 1808 and as state representative for the combined parishes of St. Philip's and St. Michael's. In 1816, Pinckney published a fifty-two-page pamphlet in support of James Monroe's presidential candidacy on the Republican Party ticket.[35]

In 1818, Pinckney was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served a single two-year term. The status of slavery in the new states to be carved out of the Louisiana Territory was a great national issue at the time. When northern congressmen attempted to exclude slavery from a portion of the territory as part of the Missouri Compromise, Pinckney in 1820 delivered a passionate defense of the balance of sectional interests embodied in the Constitution that he had helped draft thirty-three years previously. Pinckney opted not to stand for reelection in 1820 and died at the age of sixty-seven in Charleston on October 29, 1824.[36]

Throughout his adult life, Charles Pinckney was deeply involved in politics and public affairs. He once confided to James Madison, "you know I always loved Politics and I find as I grow older I become more fond of them."[37] Pinckney was a key figure in the movement for a new constitution and played an important role in its drafting and ratification. He founded the Republican Party in South Carolina and upheld Republican principles throughout a long career. Pinckney's career forms a link between the political philosophy of the revolutionary generation and the states rights secessionism of 1860-1861, which culminated in the outbreak of civil war

in Pinckney's hometown of Charleston. Pinckney's Snee Farm plantation is a fitting location for interpreting this important early national political figure and the early history of the United States.

## Scope and Purpose of Historic Resource Study

This Historic Resource Study (HRS) identifies and evaluates, using National Register criteria, the site's historic properties. The study establishes and documents historic contexts associated with the site and evaluates the extent to which the surviving historic resources represent those contexts. The completed HRS will serve as a tool for future site planning, resource management, and the continuing development of interpretive programs at the site.

The Snee Farm main house was entered on the National Register of Historic Places as a National Historic Landmark on November 7, 1973. The entire site was entered on the National Register by passage of the legislation establishing the Charles Pinckney National Historic Site on September 8, 1988. For purposes of National Register documentation, the twenty-eight-acre property is classified as a site. The HRS will provide the first National Register documentation for the three outbuildings, the cenotaph, and the site's archeological resources and will update the documentation of the main house.[38] The HRS identifies National Register-eligible (contributing) properties under two historic contexts identified by the survey team and described more fully below.

## Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

### *Survey Methodology, Historic Resources*

The goals of the historic resource survey are to 1) update the List of Classified Structures (LCS) database for use by park management; 2) prepare a Historic Resource Study for the park; 3) supply the National Register Documentation for the park; and 4) assemble a comprehensive survey of structures, and a photographic record for each structure built prior to 1950 and considered eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. This documentation will be used in complying with sections 106 and 110 of the 1966 Historic Preservation Act.

The survey team examined building files, maintenance records, and historic research compiled by the park staff and maps located at the park's headquarters at Fort Sumter National Monument. The field survey of the site yielded information about the present condition of the historic resources. Additionally, the team reviewed archival materials at the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service. Research with primary and secondary sources was conducted at university libraries to obtain information relating to the character of Charles Pinckney, the history of Christ Church Parish and the Charleston area, the lives and culture of

low country slaves, and the architecture and land use patterns characteristic of coastal South Carolina plantations.

The survey of resources encompassed the five structures extant at the park. It also included the archeological resources at the park. Lists of contributing and noncontributing resources are appended to each of the two contexts.

***Survey Methodology, Archeological Resources:***
***Field Methodology***

Archeological investigations began in 1987, as a requirement for obtaining a development permit from the Carolina Coastal Council. The primary investigations and the establishment of a grid system were conducted by Brockington and Associates in 1987. A registered civil engineer, Lewis E. Seabrook, Jr., established three benchmarks to ensure consistency with the grid. All archeologists working at Snee Farm employed both manual and mechanical excavation methods. The mechanical methods included the use of a farm tractor and road grader for disking the surface. All artifacts located after the mechanical excavation were flagged and recorded. Manual excavations of features included the use of shovels, trowels, spoons, and grapefruit knives. All features located were mapped and bisected. Shovel tests were conducted at fifty-foot intervals and a metal detector was used.

SEAC archeologists began excavations in 1991 and installed a permanent grid system to facilitate archeological work. The methodology employed by SEAC conforms to National Park Service standards and the standards and methodology established by earlier projects. English measurements were used for all excavations. Formal excavation units generally measured five feet by five feet. Units were excavated in arbitrary three-inch levels, except where natural strata were used or where large amounts of rubble prevented excavation in strict levels. All excavated soil and artifacts were screened through quarter-inch hardware cloth. As time permitted, some artifacts were washed on site. All artifacts were sorted and placed in field specimen bags. The project number, site abbreviation, unique field specimen number, and provenience were then recorded on all bags. Bag lists were maintained to prevent bagging and excavator errors. Feature and unit excavation forms were used to record provenience, soil description, material description, and additional comments. The field crew chief also recorded observations in a notebook. Features and selected artifacts were mapped and photographed using black and white print film and color slide film. From 1994 forward, SEAC used a laser transit and data recorder to map the site and automatically recorded the data. The data were then automatically added to the site map.

### *Laboratory Methodology*

With the exception of fragile items, artifacts not washed in the field were washed in the laboratory using soft bristle brushes. After washing and air-drying the artifacts, lab technicians sorted and analyzed them. The contents of each field specimen bag were divided into lots, with each lot containing similar artifacts. A description including count and weight of each lot was recorded on standardized forms. Technicians used the National Park Service cataloging system to assign catalog numbers for each lot and artifact. Permanent catalog numbers were recorded on the individual artifacts with indelible black ink, between two layers of lacquer. The lacquer used was a ten-percent solution of the acrylic copolymer B72 in acetone. All artifacts were placed in archivally stable polyethelene zip-lock bags with the catalogue number written on the bag. Holes were punched in all bags to allow air circulation. The National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center in Tallahassee, curates all materials, including field notes, lab records, and artifacts.

### Determination of Historic Contexts

This study assesses the eligibility and evaluates the integrity of the site's cultural resources within two historic contexts. These contexts relate to broad historic themes identified by the National Park Service and the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). The thematic framework of the NPS is outlined in *1994 Revisions of the National Park Service's Thematic Framework.* South Carolina has identified a number of historic contexts, some of which relate to the HRS contexts. These contexts effectively link the history to the extant historic resources of the site. The following historic contexts have been developed for this study:

**A. Archeological Resources of Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, 1754-1816**

**B. The Low Country Coastal Cottage and Snee Farm, 1828-1941.**

Context A relates to the subterranean historic resources which are primarily related to low country plantation life for both slaves and free persons living on Snee Farm. This context contains elements of several NPS themes including: Peopling Places, Expressing Cultural Values, Shaping the Political Landscape, Transforming the Environment, Developing the American Economy, and the Changing Role of the United States in the World Community.

Context B relates to the architectural resources of the Charles Pinckney National Historic Site including the main house and the associated outbuildings. This context primarily relates to the NPS themes of Expressing Cultural Values and Developing the American Economy.

### Historical Base Map Discussion

The Historical Base Map (HBM) depicts existing historic and nonhistoric resources of the park. The map graphically depicts contributing and noncontributing historic structures based on the determinations of National Register eligibility contained in this study.

## Notes

[1]Walter B. Edgar, *Historic Snee Farm: A Documentary Record* (Columbia SC: University of South Carolina Department of History, 1991), 3, 44.

[2]Public Law 100-421, September 8, 1988, 102 Stat. 1581-82.

[3]"Statement for Management, Charles Pinckney National Historic Site" (National Park Service, 1990), 5-6,

[4]Brockington and Associates, "Archeological Data Recovery at Long Point Plantation" (Atlanta: Brockington and Associates, 1991), 5-6; Draft "General Management Plan, Charles Pinckney National Historic Site," Natural Resource Management Section (Atlanta: National Park Service, June 1993), n.p.

[5]Preservation Consultants, Inc., "Town of Mt. Pleasant Cultural Resource Survey, 1988" (Charleston: Preservation Consultants, Inc., 1988), 6-7.

[6]"Interim Operating Plan, Charles Pinckney National Historic Site" Draft (National Park Service, 1991), 7.

[7]Draft "General Management Plan," Natural Resource Section, n.p.

[8]To avoid confusion, Charles Pinckney's father will be referred to herein as Colonel Pinckney, reflecting his Revolutionary War rank.

[9]W[illiam] S[avage] E[lliot], "Honorable Charles Pinckney, LL.D., of South Carolina," *DeBow's Review* 33 (July-August 1864): 61. Two *DeBow's Review* articles written by Elliott, Pinckney's grand-nephew, contain numerous factual errors and romanticize a vanished South Carolina past. Uncorroborated statements in these articles should be viewed with skepticism.

[10]Frances Leigh Williams, *A Founding Family: The Pinckneys of South Carolina* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 20, 41, 69, 392n; J. Harold Easterby, "Charles Pinckney," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), vol. XIV, 6ll.

[11]Williams, 96, 123, 143; Easterby, 611.

[12] William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution So Far as It Related to the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia,* vol. 2 (New York, D. Longworth, 1802), 116.

[13] Colonel Charles Pinckney was not treated as harshly as some of other Loyalists, perhaps as an acknowledgement of his son's patriotism.

[14]Williams, 153, 172-188; Arthur Middleton to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney [May? 1782] in Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*, vol. 18 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991), 547.

[15]Williams, 200-5, 211-15, 419n; George Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. VI (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1896), 186-88.

[16]Bancroft, vol. VI, 188.

[17]Bancroft, vol. VI, 188-92; Richard B. Morris, *The Forging of the Union* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), 252; Williams, 214.

[18]Morris, 255-57.

[19]Henry Laurens was also appointed but declined to serve (Williams, 216).

[20]Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, rev. ed., vol. I (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), 24.

[21]Charles Pinckney to John Quincy Adams, December 30, 1818, in Farrand, vol. III, 427-28.

[22]Two versions of the draft were found among Wilson's papers. An extract of the draft was published by J. Franklin Jameson in *The American Historical Review* 8 no. 3 (1903): 509-11 and a more complete outline of the draft by A.C. McLaughlin in *The American Historical Review* 9 no. 4 (1904): 735-47. A reconstructed draft based on these sources and a 1787 pamphlet, *Observations on the Plan of Government Submitted to the Federal Convention,* published by Pinckney, appears in Farrand, vol. III, 604-9.

[23]Compare the third of the Virginia Resolutions, Farrand, vol. I, 20, with Article II of the reconstructed Pinckney Draft, Farrand, vol. III, 605.

[24]Ernest M. Lander, Jr., "The South Carolinians at the Philadelphia Convention, 1787," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 57 (1956), 140, 145-50, 153.

[25]Farrand, vol. I, 397-404, 410-12.

[26]Williams, 254.

[27]Williams, 284-87; John Harold Wolfe, *Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), 26-27, 34-35.

[28]Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), 345-52.

[29]The Republican Party that formed around Jeffersonian principles evolved into the present-day Democratic Party; it had no connection with the Republican Party founded in the 1850s and currently existing.

[30]Williams, 310-14; Wolfe, 63-65, 84-85; Mark D. Kaplanoff, "Charles Pinckney and the American Republican Tradition," in *Intellectual Life in Antebellum Charleston,* ed. Michael O'Brien and David Moltke-Hansen (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), 101.

[31]Williams, 288, 320, 327-29, 344-48. *See also* Secretary of State James Madison's instructions to Pinckney, Madison to Pinckney, June 9, 1801, in *The Papers of James Madison, Secretary of State Series*, vol. I (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1986), 273-79.

[32]Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America During the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Library of America, 1986), 469-70, 487-91; Williams, 348-51; Clifford L. Egan, "The United States, France, and West Florida, 1803-1807," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* (January 1969), 232-34.

[33]Madison to Monroe, November 9, 1804, cited in Adams, 495.

[34]Williams, 352.

[35]Williams, 352-55; Kaplanoff, 86-90, 117.

[36]Williams, 355-60. Pinckney's speech on the Missouri question was reprinted in the July 15, 1820, issue of *Niles' Weekly Register*, 349-357.

[37]Pinckney to Madison, October 26, 1800, in "South Carolina in the Presidential Election of 1800," *American Historical Review* 4, no. 1 (1898), 117.

[38]When the 1973 National Historic Landmark documentation was prepared, the extant main house was believed to have been built by Colonel Pinckney in the 1750s. Subsequent analysis has established that the house dates to the first third of the nineteenth century and may have been built on the foundations of a previous house (see Context B).

# CHAPTER ONE: THE ARCHEOLOGICAL RESOURCES OF CHARLES PINCKNEY NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, 1754-1816

As the low country plantation home of Charles Pinckney, a drafter of the Constitution, the Charles Pinckney National Historic Site derives its national significance from its association with the life of Charles Pinckney and the broad patterns in early American history that shaped Charles Pinckney's world. Snee Farm and its inhabitants illustrate the complex web of economic, social, and political realities that influenced Charles Pinckney and created early American culture. The Snee Farm plantation was the country seat of one branch of the wealthy and prominent Pinckney family. As was typical with the low country elite, the family did not reside on the farm, but principally in Charleston, visiting the plantation several times a year. Despite the fact that the farm was not the Pinckneys' primary residence, there can be little doubt as to its economic and social importance to the family.

Through the historic resources at Snee Farm, we gain a more complete appreciation of the cultural and economic environment that influenced the life of Charles Pinckney and in turn derive a greater understanding of his contributions to our history. Subsequent owners constructed all of the current plantation structures; thus we rely on archeology to unravel the story of Snee Farm during Pinckney's era. Archeological investigations to date provide a demonstrable connection between the farm and Charles Pinckney. More broadly, investigations also reveal important information about Colonial America and the young American Republic, particularly relating to slave life and the emergence of Gullah culture on low country plantations. As the primary residents on Snee Farm and the majority of the population of the low country, African Americans played a key role in establishing the unique world of coastal South Carolina. This context establishes a framework for interpreting the archeological resources relating to the comprehensive uses of Snee Farm during the Pinckney era by all its inhabitants.

The purchase of Snee Farm in 1754 by Charles Pinckney's father, Colonel Charles Pinckney, reflects the customs of the eighteenth-century South Carolina elite. Colonel Pinckney was a prominent and wealthy lawyer. The low country landed gentry, however, stood at the apogee of colonial society because of the immense wealth created by rice plantations. The possession of plantations and slaves validated social status. Charleston merchants and lawyers, eager to join the ranks of the planter class, bought plantations, thus consolidating their wealth and social standing. In keeping with the eighteenth-century ideal, Colonel Charles Pinckney purchased Snee Farm along with Drainfields and Fee Farm on the Ashepoo River. Whether their income came principally from the land or a profession, South Carolina planters followed similar residential patterns, alternating town and country living. Elite families usually spent only limited time in the early spring and late fall at their country residences. The winter social season (from January through March) was spent in Charleston, and the malarial fever season (from May to the first frost) was spent in Charleston, or the upcountry.

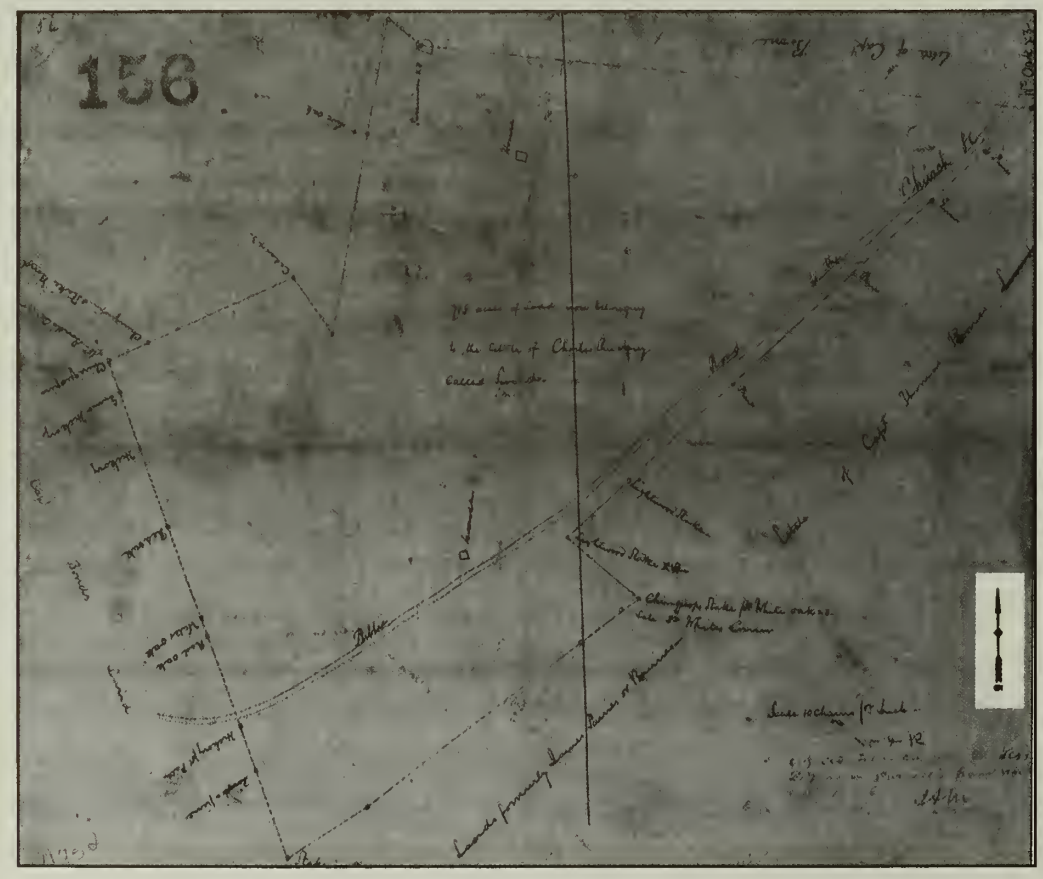


*Figure 8, 1783 Plat of Snee Farm Property*

*Figure 9, Fragments of fine china*

Primary document research has revealed little about how frequently the Pinckney family visited Snee Farm while Charles was growing up.[1] Some information can be gleaned from the close inspection of scattered primary and numerous secondary sources. Letters demonstrate that during the 1775 Christmas season, when Charles was eighteen, the family was at Snee Farm. It is possible that they spent many Christmas holidays there.[2] Charles Pinckney's 1778 election to the South Carolina House of Representatives from Christ Church Parish indicates that Snee Farm may have also been a vehicle for Pinckney's political ambitions.[3] Snee Farm was closer to Charleston than any other Pinckney property, so the family probably made more frequent excursions to the site. A nineteenth-century property dispute involving Snee Farm also hints at the family's strong connection to site. The court records describe the "handsome garden and adjoining pleasure grounds" that were "carefully tended and embellished by (Col.) Charles Pinckney, Governor (Charles) Pinckney and the plaintiff."[4] Colonel Pinckney's 1787 estate inventory also listed a gardener among the forty slaves living at Snee Farm.[5] The presence of a gardener and the description of the gardens may indicate considerable attention was paid to the grounds, an expense likely to be incurred only if the family visited the property often. Archeological investigations further support this theory and have exposed a number of trenches believed to be associated with the gardens surrounding the plantation house.

Subsurface remains at the site include numerous objects confirming the family's use of the property in the eighteenth century. These objects include silver spoons with the Pinckney monogram, wine bottle seals with the Pinckney name, crystal goblets, and fragments of fine china. This evidence, along with the foundations of the site's structures, does not yield direct information about Pinckney's political contributions, but does represent a unique and irreplaceable archive about Charles Pinckney and the Pinckney family.

Archeological evidence indicates that the Pinckney family's Snee Farm residence was not a grand structure, but a small, comfortable house more typical of Charleston area plantations than the lavish Middleton Place or Drayton Hall. The original house was located directly beneath the standing plantation main house and had a similar footprint. The architectural materials found at the site confirm that the house belonged to someone of Pinckney's high social status. Among the rubble of bricks and windowpane glass were pieces of plaster in light blue-

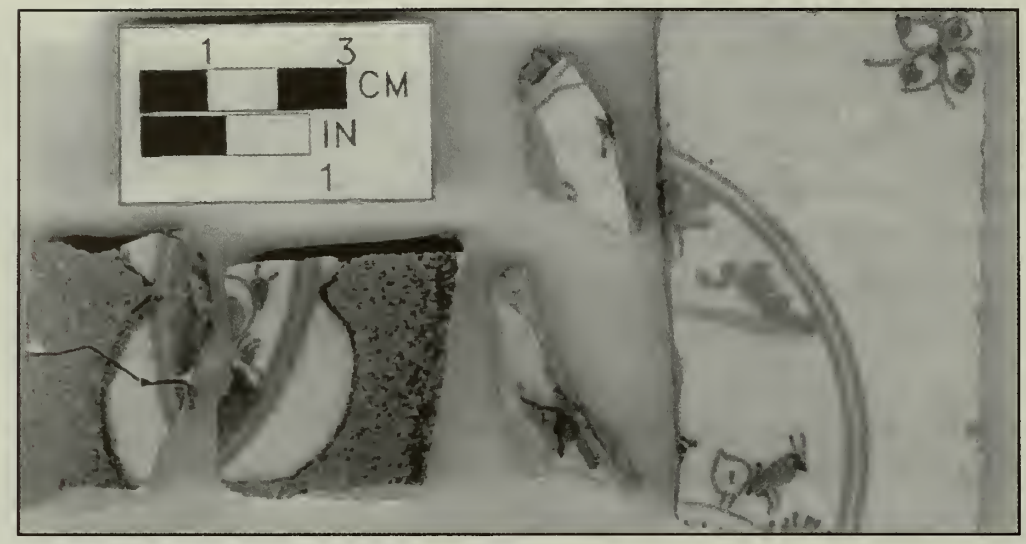


*Figure 10, Fireplace tiles*

gray, yellow, and white with a ¾-inch black stripe. Some plaster was directly on the brick rather than on a plaster lath, indicating the existence of plaster-covered chimneys. Large quantities of distinctive ornamental fireplace tiles were found at either end of the structure. Brass tacks found at the site suggest upholstered furniture, and brass drawer pulls are evidence that the home was furnished with fine cabinets and desks. Dating of the artifacts indicates Colonel Pinckney constructed the residence soon after he purchased the property in 1754. The house was razed in 1828, most likely shortly after the Matthews family purchased the property.

A diverse accumulation of outbuildings was a defining characteristic of most self-sufficient southern plantations.[6] In keeping with this pattern, several outbuildings complete the Snee Farm main house complex. Archeologists uncovered the foundation of a kitchen (structure 13) approximately 25 feet from the main house foundation. This is consistent with most plantation layouts, which place the kitchen some distance from the main house in order to remove the heat, noise, commotion, and fire danger from the main residence. Planters also wanted to implement a "stricter regimen of racial segregation that was expressed by physical separation."[7] Remnants consistent with a kitchen and specifically with the Pinckney family were recovered from the site. These include wine bottle seals bearing the inscription "C Pinckney 1766" and "C. Pinckney." English tableware, Chinese glass, cutlery, wine bottle glass, windowpane, nails, bone, and tobacco pipes were also among the more than 20,000 artifacts recovered from this structure, further confirming its use as a kitchen. The high concentration of wine bottle fragments and fragments of fine china and crystal confirm the active use of Snee Farm by the Pinckneys, especially for entertaining.

A well (feature 312) located 64 feet from the main house foundation was also part of the Pinckney-era farm. The well was packed with plaster that matched the plaster found at the main house site, indicating that it was filled when the main house was demolished. The well also contained a silver spoon with the initials of Colonel Charles Pinckney and Frances Brewton Pinckney, definitively connecting the well to Colonel Pinckney's tenure on the farm. Other significant artifacts include several fragments from the same blue Delftware apothecary jar found in the kitchen. This, along with an 1826 penny located near the top of the rubble, links the kitchen and well to the Pinckney era. The main house, kitchen, and well were all demolished shortly after William Matthews acquired the farm in 1828.

*Figure 11, Delftware jar fragment*

*Figure 12, Pinckney spoon*

Additional dwellings found in the core of the plantation complex include the brick foundation of a modest structure (structure 14), which archeologists believe was the overseer's house or a slave dwelling.[8] This house, though not grand, had a fireplace extension from which Delft fireplace tiles were recovered. Remnants of another structure (structure 16) are also interpreted by archeologists as a slave dwelling. This structure was relatively small and rested on brick piers. The accumulation of artifacts north of structures 14 and 16 indicates a possible additional structure, which was most likely a third slave dwelling. These three slave dwellings are clearly a higher class of structure than the earthen dwellings of the slave village, which are located about 250 yards to the southwest. The difference in the construction and location of the dwellings for enslaved people illustrates the well-documented dichotomy between field slaves and house slaves in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An additional structure (structure 11), similar in size to structure 14 but with plaster walls and white-painted brick

exterior, was at one time thought to be the remains of Charles Pinckney's main house. Artifacts recovered from structure 11, including a 1722 penny, indicate it was occupied much earlier than the Pinckney era. Structure 11 is believed to be a residence used by previous owners.[9]

Shortly after inheriting Snee Farm in 1782, Charles Pinckney embarked on a long period of political activity that frequently took him from the Charleston area. From November 1784 to February 1787, Pinckney was a member of the Continental Congress, which met in Trenton, New Jersey, and New York City. He attended the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787. In 1790, Columbia became South Carolina's capital, and Pinckney's service as governor (1789-1792, 1796-1797) and in the state assembly (1793-1796) kept him in Columbia while the legislature was in session. In 1799 and 1800, Pinckney was in the temporary national capital at Philadelphia for sessions of the United States Senate. From the summer of 1801 through the end of 1805, he was in Europe serving as U.S. minister to Spain.[10]

No plantation records for Snee Farm are known to exist and a comprehensive search of the letters and newspaper entries from this period has not been undertaken. Historians must rely largely on published sources for scattered clues to Pinckney's use of Snee Farm. When President Washington breakfasted at Snee Farm in 1791 during his grand tour of the new nation, Pinckney described the property as "indifferently furnished" and "a place I seldom go to." Pinckney's apologies for the furnishings and condition of Snee Farm in his letter to Washington may have represented conventional eighteenth-century modesty and do not necessarily indicate that the plantation was abandoned.[11] Evidence from Christ Church Parish records suggests Pinckney's infrequent residency during this time. Pinckney was elected a vestryman of the parish annually from 1797 through 1802, but only in 1807 did he meet the residency requirement for service.[12] One Charleston County record reported in 1808 that Charles Pinckney's properties were "wholly unproductive" and some of his properties were "in perishing condition the house going to ruin and daily diminishing in value."[13]

Gaining a more complete picture of the role of Snee Farm in Charles Pinckney's life will require additional investigation of his use of his many other properties. In 1816, when he was forced to convey most of his real property to trustees to discharge his debts, Pinckney owned six plantations in addition to Snee Farm: Frankville and Hopton, on opposite sides of the Congaree River five miles from Columbia, Wrights Savannah on the Carolina bank of the Savannah River, Mount Tacitus on the Santee River, an unnamed 1600-acre plantation near Georgetown, and a 1,200-acre tract at Lynches Creek.[14] Among these properties may be the three coastal plantations Pinckney was known to have purchased on credit in 1795–1796 for

£29,000.[15] Wrights Savannah and Mount Tacitus were Laurens family properties inherited by Pinckney in 1794, upon the death of his wife, Mary Eleanor Laurens Pinckney. These properties were eventually removed from the conveyance for the benefit of his children. Also included in Pinckney's 1816 trust conveyance were his lavish townhouse in Charleston and Shell Hall, a residence in the village of Mount Pleasant.[16] Pinckney may also have owned and disposed of other properties prior to 1816 that are not listed in the trust conveyance.

In 1758, Colonel Pinckney noted that both the farm and his law practice were prospering.[17] Although we do not know specifically what life was like on Snee Farm for Charles Pinckney, we do know that he derived some of his fortune from the farm's agricultural products, which were most likely the cash crops of rice and indigo as well as lumber and provisions. The 1818 plat of Snee Farm indicated fields of rice, cultivated land, and woodlands. A typical Charleston area plantation in the eighteenth century, such as Snee Farm, would have produced cash crops as well as provisions for the slaves, family residences in Charleston, and the city markets.[18] Although foodstuffs could be lucrative, most plantation owners derived the bulk of their profits from rice, which came to dominate both the physical and social landscape in the eighteenth-century low country. The agricultural domination of rice was so complete that by 1761, James Glenn noted, "The only commodity of any consequence produced in South Carolina is rice."[19]

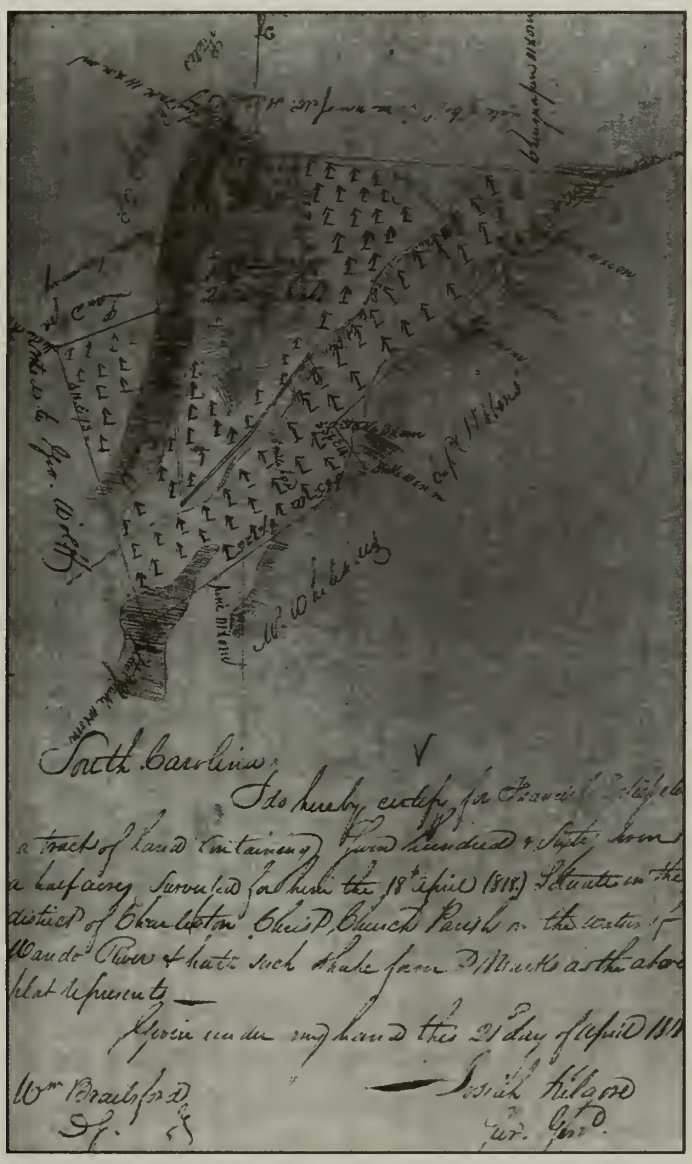


*Figure 13, 1818 Plat of property*

Snee Farm's location along the tidal marshes made rice growing possible, and the 1818 plat indicates rice fields and two or three rice "banks" or levees. The tidal creek and the remains of a large levee crossing the low-lying areas of the farm are additional physical evidence of tidal rice cultivation. On one side of the levee the water is brackish and unsuitable for planting; on the other side of the levee cattails are present, indicating fresh water suitable for growing rice. This levee occupies the same location as the one depicted on the plat of 1818.[20] It is also possible that upland rice, which required less irrigation, was grown on Snee Farm.

Rice was more lucrative than other cereals, but it also required a significantly higher capital investment, keeping all but the wealthiest planters from the business. Rice could be profitably grown only on large plantations employing at least 30 slaves.[21] The surge in profitability of tidal rice production allowed coastal plantation owners to become some of the wealthiest citizens in the British Empire in the eighteenth century.[22] The creation of this wealth was directly related to the knowledge and labor of the slaves who were living on the plantations and working the fields. Slave labor was considered an essential ingredient in successful cash crop cultivation, and as the profits from the rice plantations grew, so did the slave population.[23]

The production of rice and indigo on plantations was the mainstay of the coastal South Carolina economy in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Rice, the primary export crop, tied South Carolina to a world-wide economic system. However, without the continual flow of enslaved labor, the large profits associated with the production of these crops would have been impossible. A triangular trade, based on the importation of slaves from Africa and the exportation of rice to Europe and the West Indies emerged, linking South Carolina to markets in Europe and Africa. The revenue generated by this trading system allowed the southern colonies to become economically viable and formed the underpinnings of the South Carolina low country life.

*Figure 14, Sheaf of rice*

Slavery was such an integral part of this economic system that the South Carolina

delegates to the Constitutional Convention fought hard to protect it as the foundation of their way of life. Charles Pinckney was a vigilant advocate in the slavery debate, defending the institution against the abolitionist tendencies of the delegates from the Northern states. He argued that because of slavery there was a "solid distinction as to the interests between the Southern and Northern states," and that Georgia and South Carolina "in their rice and indigo had a peculiar interest which might be sacrificed" if they did not have adequate representation in Congress. This representation was secured by counting 60% of the South's slave population in apportioning representatives to Congress (the three-fifths clause) thus insuring the South larger Congressional representation. Pinckney also fought hard to allow for the continued importation of enslaved people until 1808, and the fugitive slave clause (which would forcibly return escaped slaves captured in free states). Because of their tenacious insistence on protecting their labor system and thus the foundation of their wealth, Southerners won major concessions from the rest of the nation on almost every issue relating to slavery.[24]

South Carolina planters made rice profitable, but the roots of South Carolina rice cultivation stretch 3,000 years into Africa's past. African strains of rice and cultivation methods developed independently from the rice varieties and growing methods employed in Asia.[25] From Senegal to the Cote d'Ivoire, Africans perfected the intricacies of manipulating tidal rivers to irrigate their rice fields. The African cultivation methods, and possibly the indigenous rice, oryza glaberrima, traveled with the bondspeople to the South Carolina coast. Geographic similarities between South Carolina and West Africa made the low country ideal for rice cultivation.

South Carolina planters, though familiar with rice, were inexperienced in its production and relied heavily on their enslaved people's knowledge to successfully produce the crop.[26] Planters preferred slaves with rice-growing skills, whether directly from Africa or from a plantation already involved in rice production. Advertisements in local papers highlight planters' desire for slaves experienced in the cultivation of rice. An announcement in the *Evening Gazette* in 1785 advertised a cargo of "windward and gold coast negroes, who have been accustomed to the planting of rice."[27] British planter William Stock's requirements for qualified slaves typified planters' preferences: "As to the Negroes, I must get them either in South Carolina or Georgia, and must choose such as are used to the different cultivation I begin with as Rice, Cotton, Indigo, etc."[28] Slave traders, eager to meet their customers' needs, sought slaves familiar with rice cultivation. Historians estimate that about 43% of all Africans entering South Carolina during the colonial period were from the African rice-growing regions.[29] Although the majority of these slaves probably had no experience growing rice, the influence of the many hundred who did cannot be discounted.

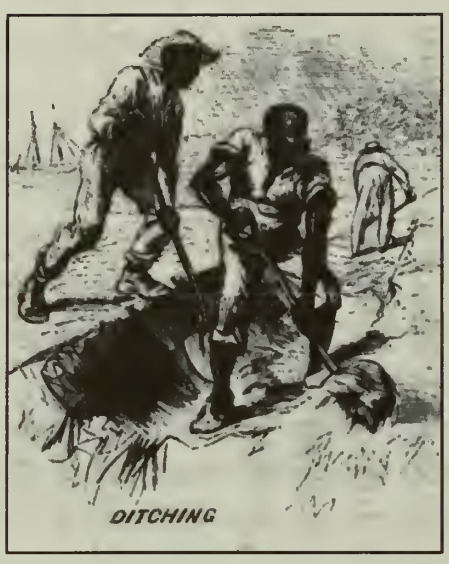


*Figure 15, Preparing the rice fields*

Preparing and cultivating the fields and harvesting rice were laborious and unhealthy jobs dominated by mud, heat, yellow fever, malaria, insects, and snakes. Establishing the rice fields was a particularly onerous process, requiring the slaves to physically alter the coastal landscape. First the tidal marshes had to be cleared, drained, and leveled. Then embankments, or levees, about five feet high and twelve feet wide, were built surrounding each field. Draft animals could not be used because they would have sunk under their own weight in the boggy soil. Several times a year, the tidal pull on the rivers was employed to flood the fields. In order to regulate water levels throughout the growing season, slaves built and maintained a complex series of dams, gates, and sluices. The maintenance of the levees and hydraulics was critical to the success of a rice crop. If a dam or levee broke, and salt water flooded into the fields, the land would have to remain fallow while it desalinized.

Rice cultivation was as difficult and unhealthy as creating the fields. Slaves pressed the rice seeds into the muddy ground with their heels, then flooded the fields to encourage germination. Once the seeds sprouted, the fields were drained and weeded. Weeding the rice fields had to be done by hand. The fields were then alternately flooded and drained to keep the soil moist and the weeds under control, and to deter the birds and other animals. The final flooding took place under the watchful eye of the "trunk minder" who was responsible for gradually raising the water level in the fields to support the top-heavy rice stalks.

*Figure 16, Flood gates*

Harvesting the rice was done in the late fall. Once the rice was harvested, it had to be threshed and winnowed, and the white kernel of rice had to be milled from the indigestible hull. African-born slaves again initially provided the necessary skills and knowledge for the milling process. Around 1500 BC, West African women began processing rice by employing a hand-pounding mortar and pestle. This was the primary

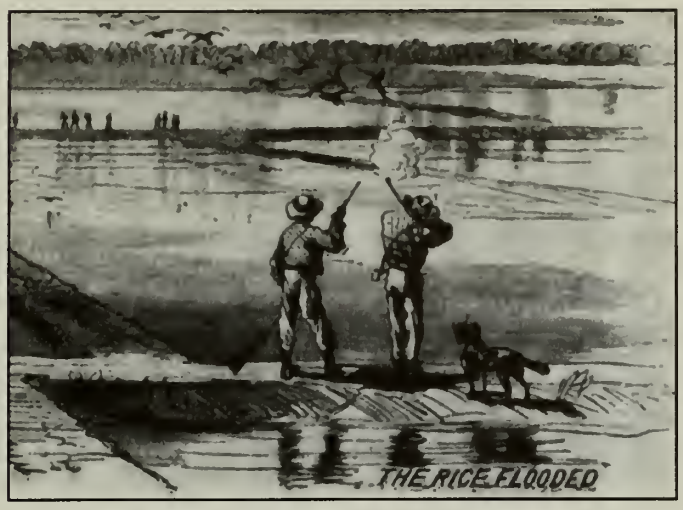


*Figure 17, Flooded rice fields*

*Figure 18, Working in the rice fields*

system used in South Carolina until Jonathan Lucas developed the water-driven mill in the late eighteenth century.[30] After milling, the final step was polishing the rice to prevent spoilage. This involved removing the oily bran from the kernel.

The other major crop most likely grown on Snee Farm was indigo, which accounted for one-quarter of all exports in South Carolina at the beginning of the American Revolution.[31] Land difficult to irrigate was ideal for planting the hearty indigo plant. Once indigo was planted, it could be virtually ignored until harvest. The processing of indigo, however, was extremely time and labor intensive. As soon as the leaves were harvested, they had to be transported to a series of vats where the leaves fermented while they were continuously pumped and stirred. The noxious blue liquid was then drained from the vats and mixed with lye to set. The sediment was then dried into blocks.[32] Archeologists and historians have no direct evidence of the production of indigo on Snee Farm. However, the processing of indigo required skilled craftspeople such as carpenters and coopers, both of which were listed in the Snee Farm slave inventory of 1787.

In addition to rice and indgo, Charles Pinckney owned cattle that most likely grazed in the woodland area indicated on the 1818 plat map. Lumber was possibly harvested from the woodland area for use at Pinckney's Charleston and Mount Pleasant homes. Additionally, the pines in the forest wold have provided turpentine, pitch, and other naval stores. In the 1787 slave inventory, the first slave listed is Cudjoe, who was a driver and a sawyer, further underscoring the importance of the woodlands.

*Figure 19, Harvesting rice*

*Figure 20, Milling rice using traditional African methods*

Compared with their upland counterparts, low country slaves worked under a unique labor system. "Tasking" was virtually unknown throughout much of the South where gang labor prevailed, but was the distinguishing characteristic of coastal slavery. Masters and slaves negotiated a system of labor where planters conceded control over work time in exchange for a specific unit of output. The task system measured work by specific tasks rather than the sun-up-to-sun-down gang system employed by most southern plantation owners. Each slave was given an identifiable job such as weeding or planting. The standard measurement for a day's work was a square of one-quarter of an acre, except when a task was particularly arduous or light. Based on his or her age, skill, and capacity each slave was classified as a full-task, half-task, or quarter-task slave. When the task was completed the slave was free for the balance of the day. This labor system may be linked to absentee owners' need to readily measure a slave's work. It is also possible that tasking labor was the legacy of a negotiated arrangement between slaves, who possessed the knowledge of rice production, and landowners, who relied on their knowledge.[33]

Tasking provided a modicum of autonomy for slaves by enabling them to control a part of their time. Often, assigned tasks could be completed by 2:00 p.m., which left several hours for slaves to satisfy their own needs. Both men and women kept small gardens and raised livestock. Slave gardens varied from half an acre to two acres and consisted of vegetables such as corn, peas, greens, and occasionally even rice. Slaves also kept hogs and chickens. Both produce and livestock were consumed to supplement a slave's rations. What was not consumed was sold in the local markets or traded for luxuries such as tobacco, cloth, alcohol, or more desirable food.[34] One traveler who

observed the practice of slaves bringing their goods to market remarked: "on the country side was heard the songs of the Negroes as they rowed their boats up the river on their return from the city, whither they had taken their small wares - eggs, fowls, and vegetables - for sale, as they do two or three times a week."[35]

In addition to raising domesticated animals, slaves commonly hunted and fished. Depending on the temperament of the master and the proximity of the plantation to woods and streams, slave owners often encouraged their slaves to hunt. Most slaves trapped their game, but some masters allowed slaves to uses guns, despite laws prohibiting gun ownership by slaves. Through the use of gardens and hunting, slaves achieved limited economic independence, ameliorating their existence as chattel.[36]

There is archeological evidence that the task system was the predominant labor system employed on Snee Farm during Charles Pinckney's tenure. Trash pits containing crustacean shells and animal bones point to the slaves' ability to control their own foodways through fishing and hunting. The fence that may have lined the domestic compound indicates slaves kept gardens and domesticated animals. A lead shot found in a posthole of one of the slave dwellings indicates slave ownership of guns for hunting. Additionally, since the task system was the rule in the low country, we can reasonably assume Snee Farm was no exception.

Large slave populations living in the relative isolation of rice plantations allowed slave life in the low country to retain distinctly African elements. Large, isolated populations, coupled with the continual flood of West African bondspeople into South Carolina (at least until 1808) ensured the survival of many West African cultural traditions. Samuel Dyssli, a Swiss immigrant traveling in South Carolina in 1731 observed, "Carolina looks more like a negro country than a country settled by white people."[37] By 1790, the low country parishes were nearly 70% black. The plantation owners' tendency to leave the plantations under the command of black drivers meant slaves often had little contact with whites and obtained only a limited familiarity with European-American culture. The lack of inter-racial contact, along with an innate preference for their own cultural traditions,[38] effectively kept the enslaved people from wholly adopting European-American cultural practices. Instead, they retained many West African traditions and in their unique isolation blended characteristics of myriad African cultures and European and European-American traditions. The resulting culture is known as Gullah.[39]

When Pinckney sold Snee Farm in 1817 the slave population numbered 43.[40] Pinckney's slaves undoubtedly interacted with the numerous slaves living on nearby plantations, forming an extended slave community further strengthening the Gullah culture on Snee Farm.

One product of low country African-American culture is the Gullah language. Gullah is

not a patois, but a distinctive language with its own rules of grammar. Gullah was the everyday tongue of low country blacks for generations and is spoken today by many in South Carolina and Georgia.[41] The early roots of Gullah are in the pidgin spoken in Africa among the polyglot slavers, African slave traders and merchants, and the enslaved people, all of whom needed a common method of communication. Once the enslaved people arrived at the Carolina coast, the pidgin evolved in the slave villages and fields into a complex, English-based Creole language, known as Gullah. African slaves adopted a mainly English vocabulary with the syntax and intonations common to West African languages. Gullah also makes rich use of word groups to form nouns, verbs, and adjectives such as: "day clean" (dawn), "beat-on iron" (mechanic), and "dry long so" (without reason). In 1949, Lorenzo D. Turner first documented Gullah's origins, documenting approximately 4,000 Gullah words from 21 different West African languages. Some of these words include cooter, goober, yam, tote, and okra.[42] These words, now common in the English lexicon, illustrate that cultural transmission was not one way. The low country world was marked by a complex series of interactions among African Americans, European Americans, and newly arriving enslaved Africans. Blacks and whites influenced each other's cultural patterns in countless way, creating ways of living that distinguish the low country to this day.

Basket making is another Gullah tradition with its roots extending to the West African coast. The distinctive Gullah coiled sweet-grass basketry bears little resemblance to Native American or European traditions, but mirrors baskets made in the Senagambia region of Africa. Traditionally, men made large baskets used for agricultural purposes, and women made smaller baskets for household use. An evolved form of this distinctive basketry is still practiced by African Americans living in the Snee Farm area, providing a tangible link to the African past.[43]

Folktales or parables are another important characteristic of Gullah culture influenced by both African traditions and the slave experience in America.[44] These folktales often tell the story of a weaker or smaller animal outwitting a larger, quicker animal; a clear allegory to the master-slave relationship. Though the subject matter clearly grew from the slave experience in America, the majority of the parables maintain African structures and motifs.[45]

In many ways the landscape of the low country plantation belonged as much to the slaves as to the planters. On Snee Farm, evidence of the slave contribution is everywhere. Slaves cleared the land, built the roads, constructed the houses and outbuildings, and planted the crops. The slaves, as lifelong permanent residents, considered the plantation home. Often they subtly carved out safe places for themselves against the backdrop of subjugation.[46] The slave village emphasizes this dichotomy of space. The slave village at Snee Farm was located

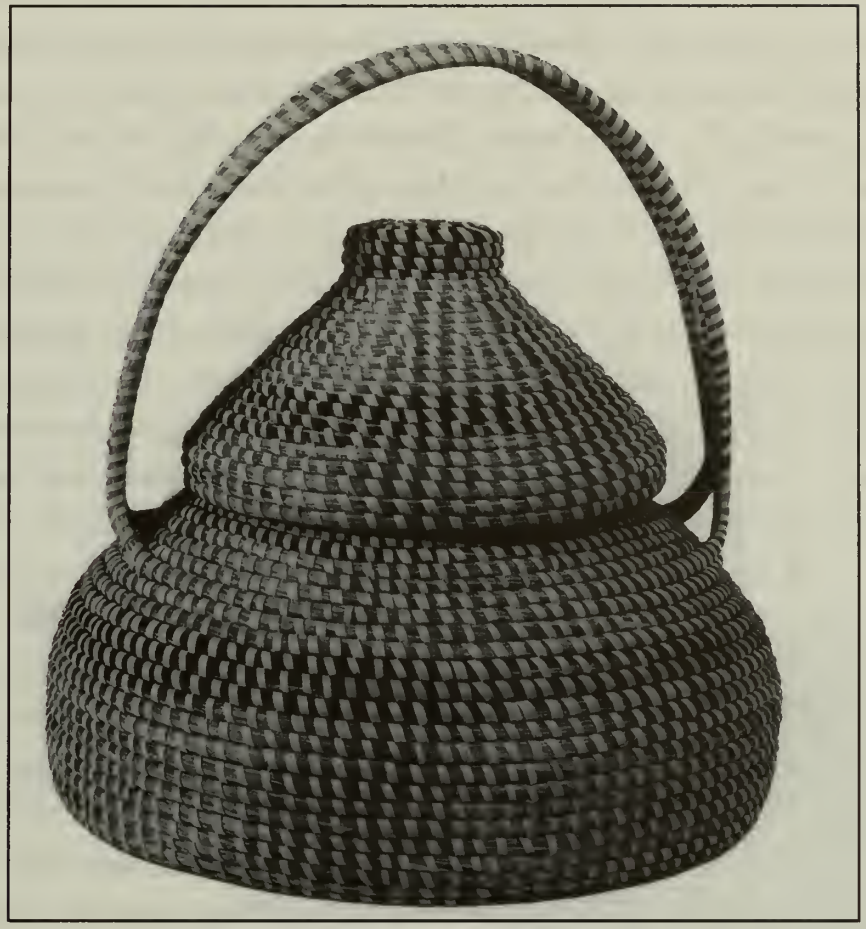

*Figure 21, Sweetgrass basket*

about 250 yards from the Pinckney residence.[47] This distance put the village near the main house, but nonetheless in a private realm away from direct planter and overseer domination.

Subsurface remains in the slave village area provide evidence of three houses and a storage shed all in use from about 1750 to 1841.[48] The dwelling with the most readable remains measured 16 x 20 feet, with a 5-foot porch extension at the south end. There is strong documentary evidence and some physical evidence of two additional slave dwellings of similar size and formation. The dwellings are of post-in-ground construction with the posts about 2 to 2.5 feet apart. Most posts were round with the deeper postmolds indicating posts that supported the structure, and the shallower molds indicating replacement posts. The walls were either wood frame, or more likely, clay applied over sticks. The roof may have been palmetto thatch or shingle. The floor was packed earth or wooden plank. The yard surrounding the dwellings was probably swept dirt. Enclosing the residential area is a series of small, scattered postholes. These most likely represent loose fencing surrounding the dwellings.

Understanding the vernacular architecture of the slave village provides insights into the worldview of the bondspeople. Architecture can reflect the transmission of cultural ideals and the transmutation of cultures in new environments.[49] The architecture of the Snee Farm slave village can be understood to show the strong African connections of recently arrived slaves. Archeological evidence indicates the slave dwellings in Snee Farm's slave quarters were more typically African than European.[50] In designing their dwellings slaves may have been replicating familiar African architectural styles. Small rectangular houses with steeply pitched roofs and dirt floors are typical of the African architectural vocabulary. Much of the living was done outdoors and the small structures were used only for sleeping and storage. The living patterns evidenced by the enslaved people at Snee Farm more closely fit their social needs than the aesthetics of the typical plantation owner. Plantation owners were most likely unaware of the slave dwellings' connection to Africa. They found the economically constructed houses to their liking, thus continuing to unwittingly encourage the traditional African building practices.[51]

*Figure 22, African dwelling which may be reminiscent of slave dwellings on Snee Farm*

As was typical in Africa, the slave homes of Snee Farm did not have interior chimneys. Cooking was a communal activity, and there is archeological evidence of central cooking hearths and food preparation and disposal areas located within the yard. Even when interior chimneys were provided, such as at Middleburg Plantation on the Cooper River and Lexington Plantation on Wando Neck, slaves seem to have preferred to do their cooking and eating outdoors.[52]

Scattered around the Snee Farm slave village are pits filled with refuse. The uses of these pits probably evolved over time. Pits originally would have been dug to supply clay for the daubing of structure walls. Later, the clay was used for crafting pots. Once the clay was depleted, they became roasting pits for oysters and clams. Finally slaves filled the pits with refuse and swept in dirt. These pits further illustrate slave life on Snee Farm by providing insight into diet and foodways. The refuse in the pits is particularly instructive. The presence of fish and animal bones provides confirmation that Snee Farm slaves worked under the task system and had time to hunt and fish. The presence of squash rinds may indicate that they kept gardens.

Evidence of the slave diet and foodways is also gleaned from the colonoware[53] fragments found at the site. The three sizes of colonoware bowls are confirmation that the diet of the slaves remained relatively African. Most West Africans traditionally ate little meat. Instead, the typical diet consisted of a starch such as millet, corn, or rice served with a spicy vegetable sauce. The vegetables and spices included beans, squash, hickory nuts, cow peas, okra, eggplant, tamarind, onions, peanuts, sesame seeds, and peppers.[54] The slaves probably also consumed their food in a traditionally African manner. A designated cook prepared communal meals in a large colonoware bowl or later in a cast iron pot. The accompanying sauces were served in medium-sized colonoware bowls. Individuals ate their food with their hands from small colonoware bowls or clean leaves. This extensive use of colonoware explains the massive quantities usually found at slave sites, including Snee Farm.[55]

In the early days of colonial South Carolina, slave-holders concerned themselves little with the spiritual lives of their slaves. Over time, conversion to Christianity became a greater priority for the slave owners.[56] Those slaves who did convert often selectively embraced Christianity, fusing Christian ideas with their traditional animist beliefs.[57] The four blue beads found in the slave quarters are undoubtedly related to religious practices of the slaves. Blue beads, though poorly understood, were a central religious symbol and imply religious rituals.[58] They were used as signs of marriage, as fertility amulets, and to ward off disease. It is also possible that the beads were used for adornment.[59]

In addition to the slave dwellings, there is evidence of a non-domestic storage building in the village area. The structure measured approximately 8 x 11 feet. This windowless building had a wooden upper story resting on a brick foundation. A portion of a hinge was found in the area, suggesting a stout door with a lock. The material evidence surrounding this structure points to its use as a storage building, locked away from the slaves.

The material evidence of both enslaved and free settlement on Snee Farm brings us closer to understanding the daily life on a working low country plantation. As a man born into a life of privilege, Charles Pinckney was part of the complex milieu of low country society. He was enmeshed in an economic system based on the rice industry and the trans-Alantic slave trade, which necessarily shaped his attitudes and worldviews. The history of Charles Pinckney and the slaves he owned are inexorably linked to this site. The archeological resources and surviving landscape features are key to interpreting the unique world of Charles Pinckney and his bondspeople. These resources provide insight into the social, political, and economic environment of an eighteenth and nineteenth-century low country plantation. Through archeology, Snee Farm is placed in the context of the United States as a young nation, and its role in

*Figure 23, Colonoware shard*

shaping the lives and contributions of its free and enslaved inhabitants is illuminated.

**Significance**

Colonel Charles Pinckney purchased Snee Farm in 1754 and it remained in the Pinckney family until Governor Charles Pinckney sold it to repay his debts in 1817. The period of significance for Snee Farm for this context is thus the period of Pinckney ownership from 1754-1817. The first area of significance is the demonstrated association of *in situ* archeological deposits with Charles Pinckney and his family. Recovered artifacts definitively associate the Pinckneys with the farm during these dates. These items include personalized objects in company with a rich assemblage of artifacts spanning the Pinckney era. Due to the dearth of primary source documents associated with Charles Pinckney, these tangible artifacts are particularly critical.

Further contributions to the significance of this site are in the area of plantation and slave archeology. It is primarily through archeology that slaves are given a voice to provide important insights into their life ways and worldviews.[60] Snee Farm is particularly valuable for its impressive deposits of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century associative artifacts. These artifacts and the associated intra-site spatial patterning bring to light important information about low country rural life in early American history.

The archeological resources at Snee Farm possess national significance under National Register Criteria A, B, and D. In order to be eligible under Criterion A, "archeological properties must have well preserved features, artifacts, and intra-site patterning in order to illustrate patterns of events in history."[61] The resources at Snee Farm are nationally significant for their

association with the growth and development of the plantation economy, which is an important theme in the development of the American economy. The resources are also significant at the state level as examples of the development of properties along South Carolina's river systems and slave dwellings and sites in South Carolina.

Under Criterion B, Snee Farm must be "associated with a person's productive life, reflecting the time period when he or she achieved significance."[62] Snee Farm is nationally significant as the only archeological site associated with Charles Pinckney. Pinckney, a prominent South Carolina statesman and important drafter of the Constitution, is significant for his role in shaping the American political landscape. Snee Farm was one of Pinckney's favorite plantations, and the recovered artifacts attest to the time he spent at the site.

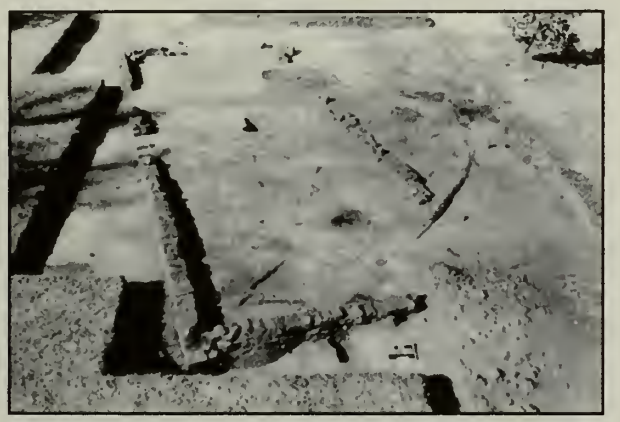

*Figure 24, Foundations of main house complex*

Several contexts make Snee Farm nationally significant under Criterion D. Specifically, as the archeological research continues, we will gain a more clear understanding of how Charles Pinckney used this site. The main house complex, agricultural features, east yard, and slave village have the potential to yield information about life ways of both planters and slaves on low country plantations in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, reflecting the theme of the development of the American economy. Of particular significance is the potential for the site to yield information about African-American life ways and the development of the Gullah culture. Further, Snee Farm is one of the only low country plantations in public ownership, which allows for unique research opportunities. Archeology on Snee Farm can be conducted in conjunction with research projects crafted to answer specific questions, and not simply as part of the mitigation process.

**Integrity of Resources**

Although there are no remaining above-ground structures from the Pinckney era, the Snee Farm archeological resources have integrity of location, design, materials, setting, feeling, and association. Archeological sites nearly always have integrity of location, and Snee Farm is no exception. Archeological sites achieve integrity of design under Criteria A & B by artifact and feature

patterning. The unearthed structures, features, and artifacts of Snee Farm are well ordered and in a typical plantation design. When taken as a whole, they convey the significance of the plantation design. The plowing of this site has not damaged or displaced significant artifacts and thus does not diminish the integrity of the design under Criterion D. The integrity of the setting, though diminished by encroaching development, is still discernable. The farm's original 715 acres has been significantly reduced to twenty-eight acres, but the setting still reads as an agricultural site. The views of the marshes are intact and much as they would have been during Pinckney's tenure. With the foundations, post molds, and features clearly evident, the site has material integrity under all criteria. Development has to some extent diminished the site's integrity of feeling, but the site still conveys a quiet, rural feel, much as it did when it was Charles Pinckney's country seat. Snee Farm has integrity of association under Criteria A as an early American plantation and it is directly associated with several broad patterns of history. The site also has integrity of association for Criteria D because of the strong connection between the artifacts and their ability to answer important research questions about Charles Pinckney and Gullah life on the plantation.[63]

*Figure 25, Snee Farm rice levee*

**Contributing Resources**

Main House Complex Site

Slave Village Complex Site

Historic Rice Levees

**Noncontributing Resources (under this context)**

Structure 12, foundation of late-nineteenth century cotton gin

Structure 15, foundation of mid-nineteenth century smokehouse

## Notes

[1] All Pinckney's personal papers were destroyed when his home at 16 Meeting Street burned.

[2] "The Letters of Thomas Pinckney," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 58 (1957): 24-25.

[3] Williams, 123.

[4] *William Matthews vs. Henry Horlbeck et al.* 7 April 1844. Charleston Court of Appeals, 1844-1845: 197-200.

[5] Edgar, 5.

[6] John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 77.

[7] Ibid., 43-45.

[8] It is sometimes difficult to differentiate between slave and overseer dwellings in the archeological record because their standards of living were similar despite distinct differences in social status. *See* Michael J. Meyer, "Intrasite Spatial Patterning on a Colonial Site in the South Carolina Low Country: The Archeology of Charles Pinckney's Snee Farm" (Master's Thesis, Florida State University, 1998), 9; and Vlach, 135-139.

[9] According to Bennie Keel, evidence of a 1722 English coin on top of a brick pier may indicate that an earlier structure once stood on this site, but was demolished prior to the Pinckney ownership. *See* Bennie Keel, "Research Proposal for Archeological Investigations of a Mid-18th Century Structure at Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, South Carolina" (Tallahassee: National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, 17 November 1998).

[10] "Colonel Miles Brewton and Some of His Descendents," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 2 (1901): 144-47.

[11] Edgar, 8. Pinckney also hosted Washington at his home at 16 Meeting Street (Elliott, 374).

[12] Anne King Gregorie, *Christ Church, 1706-1959, A Plantation Parish of the South Carolina Establishment* (Charleston: Dalcho Historical Society, 1961), 69.

[13] National Park Service, Historic American Buildings Survey, Snee Farm (NPS, 1991), 15; Charleston County Report Book, 27 April 1808–7 March 1818: 398-399.

[14] These properties were listed in Pinckney's 1816 trust conveyance (Edgar, 44).

[15] Ulrich B. Phillips, "The South Carolina Federalists, II," *The American Historical Review* 14 (1908-9): 739. Phillips does not name the plantations.

[16] Edgar, 44.

[17] Williams, 15.

[18] Susan Hart Vincent, *Charles Pinckney National Historic Site Cultural Landscape Report* (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1998), 16. It is also possible that Snee Farm had a nursery, producing trees.

[19] Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Norton & Company, 1974), 35.

[20] Leland Ferguson, to Bennie C. Keel, 11 October 1995.

[21] Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and the Rice Culture in Low Country Georgia, 1750-1860* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 77; and Joyce E. Chaplin "Tidal Rice Cultivation and the Problem of Slavery in South Carolina and Georgia, 1760-1815," *William and Mary Quarterly* 49 (January 1992): 32.

[22] Peter A. Coclanis, "Bitter Harvest: The South Carolina Low Country in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Economic History* 45 (June 1985): 251 - 256. A rice plantation owner could expect 20% - 25% annual net profit on rice.

[23] Ira Berlin, *Many Thousand Gone, The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 143; and Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves, Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 99.

[24] Paul Finkelman, *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), 12-18.

[25] Long before the French and Portuguese ships introduced Asian varieties of rice to some areas of Africa, Africans were developing their own cultivation methods. It is these methods that dominated early South Carolina agriculture. It is also possible that the African oryza glaberrima variety of rice was the first to be planted in South Carolina. It was later replaced with the higher yielding, whiter oryza sativa from Asia. The introduction of Asian grain, however, did nothing to change African cultivation methods (Wood, 59-60; Littlefield, 84-96).

[26] Judith A. Carney "The Role of African Rice and Slaves in the History of Rice Cultivation in the Americas," *Human Ecology* 26 (December 1998): 4; and Littlefield, 76-79.

[27] Wood, 60.

[28] Littlefield, 76.

[29] Judith A. Carney, "Rice Milling, Gender and Slave Labor in Colonial South Carolina," *Past and Present* 156 (November 1996): 7; and Littlefield, 113. It is difficult to determine the actual area of origin and ethnicity of African slaves. Many slaves were transported great distances within Africa prior to the middle passage. Slave traders also showed no particular aptitude for determining the ethnicity of their captives. Knowing that rice growing slaves were the most valuable in South Carolina, it is possible that they simply claimed that the their human cargo was from the Rice Coast. It is also important to note that not all slaves from the "Rice Coast" actually grew rice.

[30] Carney, "Rice Milling, Gender and Slave Labor," 6.

[31] The indigo produced in South Carolina was of an inferior quality to the indigo produced in East Florida and the French West Indies. After the American Revolution, the British subsidies of indigo ended and demand for South Carolina indigo declined.

[32] Berlin, 148.

[33] Berlin, 154; and Smith, 45

[34] Sam Bowers Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South 1840-1860* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), 27, 182-183.

[35] Fredrika Bremer, *The Homes of the New Word: Impressions of America*, vol. 1, trans. Mary Botham Howitt (London: A. Hall, Virtue and Company, 1853), 305. Quoted in Hillard, 183.

[36] Larry E. Hudson, Jr., *To Have and to Hold: Slave Work and Family Life in Antebellum South Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 16.

[37] Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground, Archeology and Early African America, 1650-1800* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1992), 59.

[38] Ibid., 118

[39] The Gullah culture is known as Geechee in Georgia. Gullah is generally believed to be a derivation of the word Angola, but it also could have referred to the Gola people who lived in present-day Liberia.

[40] When Pinckney was forced to sell his plantation because of his debts he had 43 slaves. It is possible that at its peak Snee Farm had a much larger population. According to the 1810 Census, Charles Pinckney owned 58 slaves in Christ Church Parish.

[41] There are approximately 500,000 native Gullah speakers in South Carolina and Georgia. *See* Salikoko S. Mufwene, "The Ecology of Gullah's Survival," *American Speech* 72 (Spring 1997): 69.

[42] John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972, 1979), 30.

[43] Dale Rosengarten, "Spirits of our Ancestors: Basket Traditions in the Carolinas," in *The Crucible of Carolina; Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, ed. Michael Montgomery (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 147-149, 153-154.

[44] Many of these stories are commonly known to the majority of Americans as the Uncle Remus Stories, made famous by author Joel Chandler Harris, who heard them from African Americans in Georgia as a child.

[45] Blassingame, 23-24, 31.

[46] Vlach, 168-169.

[47] It the early days of Snee Farm, it is possible that all the slave dwellings were located much nearer to the main house. *See* Meyer, 11.

[48] More investigations may uncover at least two other residences. Additionally a slave hospital, cookhouse, and work sheds could be associated with a plantation of this size. Bennie C. Keel, telephone conversation, July 13, 1999.

[49] Charles Winston Joyner, "Slave Folklife on the Waccamaw Neck: Antebellum Black Culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977), 220.

[50] Although African-influenced architecture was common, especially in the early eighteenth century, it was not always the rule. For example, eighteenth-century dwellings for slaves at Boone Hall, an adjacent plantation, are made of brick and are more European in their design.

[51] Vlach, 155, 166-168; and Ferguson, 37, 68-75, 82.

[52] Paul E. Brockington, Jr., Linda F. Stine, and Connie M. Huddleston, "Searching for the Slave Village at Snee Farm Plantation: The 1987 Archeological Investigations" (Atlanta, GA: Brockington and Associates, 1994), 75. Evidence of this is provided at Middleburg Plantation, where the slave dwellings have interior chimneys and yet there is still evidence of a communal hearth.

[53] Colonoware is low-fired earthen pottery, molded by hand into vessels. Archeologists originally thought colonoware to be Native American in origin. However, the massive amounts found at African American archeological sites led archeologists to begin to question this hypothesis. Archeological investigations have since connected colonoware found in South Carolina to West African pottery. *See* Ferguson, 7-32.

[54] Ferguson, 94; and Brockington, 81.

[55] Ferguson, 97.

[56] West Africa religious traditions are as varied as its linguistic and cultural traditions. Some slaves arriving in South Carolina were already Christians, some Muslims, and some had beliefs rooted in animism.

[57] Smith, 173; and Margaret Washington Creel, *Peculiar People, Slave Religion and Community Culture Among the Gullah* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 2-5.

[58] Ferguson, 116; and Brockington, 80-81.

[59] Brockington, 80.

[60] Theresa A. Singleton, "Archeology of Afro-American Slavery in Coastal Georgia: A Regional Perception of Slave Household and Community Patterns" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1980), 1.

[61] Jan Townsend, John H. Sprinkle, Jr., and John Knoerl, *National Register Bulletin 36: Guidelines for Evaluating Historical and Archeological Sites and Districts* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1993), 21.

[62] *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991), 15.

[63] Townsend, 17-20; and Vincent, 41-44.

## CHAPTER TWO: THE LOW COUNTRY COASTAL COTTAGE AND SNEE FARM, 1828 – 1941

During the first third of the nineteenth century the Coastal Cottage became the favored house type among the elite low country planters of South Carolina. Although a few showplace plantation houses like Fenwick Hall, Drayton Hall, and Middleton Place were constructed in South Carolina in the eighteenth century, social life for the planters centered around their townhouses in Charleston. Working plantations were more likely to have smaller, comfortable houses suitable for occasional residence by the owners. The side-gabled Coastal Cottage was admirably adapted to this sort of use, and the extant house at Snee Farm is a good example of this house type. Constructed circa 1828, the one-and-one-half-story Snee Farm main house is rectangular in plan with a side-gable roof, full-width front porch, and a brick pier foundation. The interior features elaborate molding, paneling, and other decorative details.[1]

Coastal Cottages were constructed throughout the South Carolina low country, from Port Royal Sound to the Pee Dee River. Retreat, built circa 1754 in Beaufort County, is among the earliest known examples.[2] Master builders and joiners, who worked from pattern books, along with slave craftsmen and laborers, constructed most Coastal Cottages during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Although planters may have participated in design decisions, few professionally trained architects have been connected with these houses.[3]

Architectural elements common to Coastal Cottages include the rectangular plan, side-gable roof, full-width front porch, brick pier foundation, and Georgian plan. Facades generally have three or five bays with a central entrance. Additionally, planters' houses were often clad in weather boards and included interior chimneys placed along the ridgeline.[4]

Floor plans for Coastal Cottages were based on the Georgian plan, which appeared in America in the early eighteenth century. The typical Coastal Cottage consisted of four heated rooms and a central passage. Coastal Cottages, such as the Perry-Smoak House constructed in

Colleton County circa 1814, featured two central entrances that open directly on the parlor and dining room, eliminating the central passage.[5] The Grove, built in Charleston County circa 1828, fuses a traditional Georgian plan with two elliptical-shaped front rooms.[6] Unusual room shapes, particularly shapes based on the circle or ellipse, were fashionable during the Federal period, from about 1789 to about 1830. The second floor of most Coastal Cottages, typically a half-story, contained bedrooms.

*Figure 26, Drayton Hall*

Decorative details reflect the neoclassical style of design that was popular at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Elliptical fanlights or transoms and sidelights often framed entrances. Interiors were finished with elaborate woodwork such as keyed arches dividing the entrance hall and stair hall. Paneled wainscoting and finely molded window and door surrounds were accented with crown and cornice moldings and plaster medallions. Fireplaces were the focal points of the public rooms and feature some of the most costly ornamentation associated with Coastal Cottages.[7] Dean Hall, built in Berkeley County in 1827, features complex cornice moldings, ceiling medallions, and a stone mantelpiece with slender columns and a decorative panel frieze.[8]

Planters resided at their plantation houses during the spring and fall, avoiding the summer fever season. The winter social season was usually spent in Charleston, where the low country elite maintained their principal residences. These larger and more sumptuously appointed homes served as backdrops for much of the season's entertaining.[9] The fashionably decorated public rooms common to Coastal Cottages, however, suggest that these houses were also designed to receive guests and formally entertain. The proximity of Snee Farm to Charleston assured that the plantation was used for entertaining. The elegant detailing in the house suggests it was often used for guests. Additionally, the evidence of formal gardens adjacent to the house further indicates the use of the house for pleasure and entertaining.

The planter's house was one component of a large agricultural complex that typically featured scores of structures. Outbuildings such as kitchens, smokehouses, dairies, privies, and slave dwellings were integral to the plantation landscape. Many specialized structures were devoted entirely to the cultivation of rice, indigo, and later, cotton.[10]

*Figure 27, Snee Farm Main House*

### Historic Resources of Snee Farm

William Mathews, a low country planter, built the main house at Snee Farm circa 1828.[11] Mathews's ventures were extremely successful, and his holdings included 352 slaves. By 1848, he owned five plantations, various tracts of land, and maintained a principal residence in Charleston.[12] The Snee Farm main house is the only extant resource that dates to the Mathews period of ownership, which began in 1828 and ended when Mathews left the property to his daughter in 1848.

The previous owner of Snee Farm, Francis G. Deliesseline, purchased the property from the trustees of Charles Pinckney in 1817 and had the estate surveyed the following year. The plat indicates rice fields and ditches, farm roads, and a cruciform-shaped formal garden located to the north of the Pinckney-era main house.[13] Many of these features are present in an 1841 Mathews survey. A house located at the north end of the property is joined with a public road to the south, presently U.S. Route 17, by a long drive running north and south. A row of slave dwellings is organized along an avenue perpendicular to the main drive. Several other structures and possibly a garden are located in the vicinity of the main house.[14] The main house, however, is the only nineteenth-century structure that remains at the site.

*Figure 28, Snee Farm Main House*

Like many Coastal Cottages in the region, the main house at Snee Farm is a one-and-one-half-story, five-bay structure with a Georgian plan.[15] The side-gable roof features two interior chimneys along the ridgeline and an engaged full-width porch across the south facade.16 The house is raised on brick piers and constructed with heavy timbers. It is clad with beveled wood siding.

The floor plan of the main block features four rooms off a center stair hall. The stair is set along the east wall at the north end of the hall. The front parlors (the southeast and southwest rooms) have doorways that open onto the hall opposite each other and the fireplaces are in the center of the north wall. The smaller, rear northeast and northwest rooms also open onto the hall and are heated with fireplaces. The second-floor plan follows the layout of the first floor with a center hall illuminated by dormers. Each of the four rooms are lit by a dormer and a gable-end window. Only the southeast and southwest rooms feature fireplaces. The northwest room has been converted to a bathroom.

First-story windows of the main block are nine-over-nine double-hung sashes with molded surrounds and wood shutters. The three gabled roof dormers on the north and south elevations feature six-over-six double-hung sashes with plain surrounds and molded pediments.

The main entrance consists of a six-panel wood door, a four-light transom, and a molded surround. The corresponding door on the north side is similar but narrower, with a three-light transom.

Interior woodwork dates to the construction of the house and remains largely intact. Each room includes unpainted wainscoting. In addition, first-floor rooms are finished with chair rails and cornice moldings. A keyed arch bisects the stair hall and features molded pilasters and a reeded underside. The mantelpieces in the southeast and southwest parlors are the most elaborate of the six mantelpieces in the main block. These appear to be hand-carved and feature pilasters, center panel friezes, and end blocks.

In the hands of a succession of owners, the main house at Snee Farm remained largely unchanged for nearly one hundred years. In 1936, Thomas Ewing purchased the property and enlarged the house. The additions are in the form of gable-front dependencies joined to a porch on the north side of the house by small hyphens. The northwest wing contained the kitchen, pantry, and laundry room. The northeast wing included a bedroom, dressing room, and two bathrooms. The entire arrangement is symmetrical, and construction materials match those of the main block.

The Ewings also built a freestanding library, now referred to as the caretaker's cottage, and a barn. The caretaker's cottage, constructed in 1936, is located northwest of the house along the entrance drive from Long Point Road. It is a small, one-story frame building with a side gable roof, two chimneys, and a screened front porch. The barn was built in 1944 and is located west of the caretaker's cottage. It is a large, center-aisle, seven-bay frame structure with a cross-gabled roof and a cupola. Both structures follow the design of the main house. The corncrib, built around 1910, is located just to the south of the barn. It is a frame structure with vented side-walls and board-and-batten gable ends.

A cenotaph memorializing Colonel Charles Pinckney is located southeast of the main house. Erected between 1949 and 1968, the cenotaph is a 5 ½-foot-tall, 2 ½-foot-wide marble tablet with an incised inscription and the image of a funerary urn. The marker is nonhistoric and apparently replaced the original marker erected at Snee Farm in the 1780s by Charles Pinckney in memory of his father, who is buried in the churchyard of St. Philip's in Charleston.

### Significance

The main house at Snee Farm is significant at the state and local level under Criterion C as a representative example of a low country Coastal Cottage. South Carolina's gentry built Coastal

*Figure 29, Barn*

*Figure 30, Corncrib*

*Figure 31, Caretaker's Cottage*

Cottages on plantations throughout the low country in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Architectural features found at the main house at Snee Farm, such as the side-gabled roof, full-width front porch, Georgian plan, and neoclassical ornamentation, are characteristic of Coastal Cottages throughout the region.

The caretaker's cottage and barn, built during the Ewing period of ownership, and the corncrib possibly dating from the Hamlin ownership period, contribute to the significance of the site by providing an understanding of the twentieth-century uses of Snee Farm as an agricultural property and a vacation home.

### Integrity of the Historic Resources

The main house at Snee Farm retains most elements of integrity. Location, materials, and workmanship have not been altered since the house was completed circa 1828, and invoke feelings and associations appropriate to a nineteenth-century Coastal Cottage. The setting is partly rural with only remnants of agricultural landscape. A cluster of houses recently constructed south of the site is the most significant disruption of the historic scene. The design, which was altered with the addition of two rear wings, retains the distinctive qualities that define a low country Coastal Cottage. The additions are set back from the south facade, minimizing their visual impact on the front and sides of the house.

The outbuildings, including the caretaker's cottage, the barn, and the corncrib, all possess sufficient integrity of materials, design, setting, and location and are eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. The integrity of the caretaker's cottage has been compromised by deterioration of its fabric due to overgrown vegetation and pest infestation. However, it still possesses its major character-defining features and is eligible for the National Register.

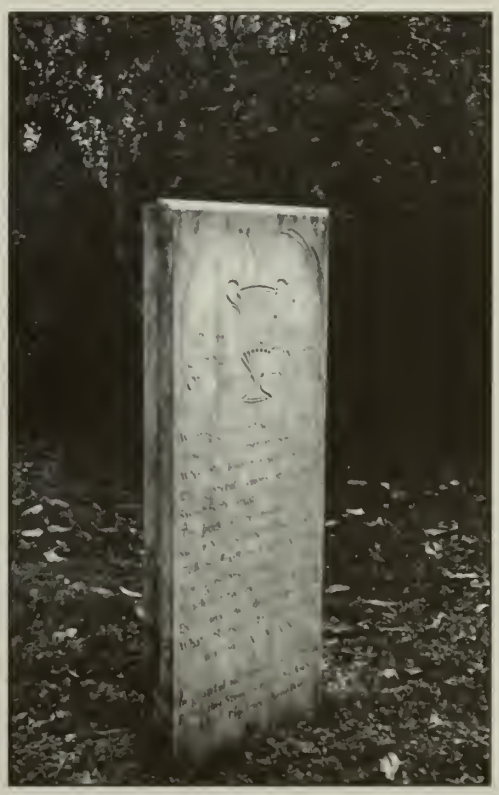

*Figure 32, Cenotaph*

**Contributing Resources**

Main House, circa 1828, rear additions, 1936 – 1941.
Caretaker's Cottage, 1936
Barn, 1944
Corncrib, circa 1910

**Noncontributing Resources**

Cenotaph, 1949-1968 (managed as a cultural resource)
Rest Rooms/Visitor Contact, 1994
Curatorial Storage, 1996

## Notes

[1]William P. Baldwin, Jr., *Plantations of the Low Country* (Greensboro, NC: Legacy Publications, 1985), 33-39, 45-46; Roger G. Kennedy, *Architecture, Men, Women and Money in America, 1600-1860* (New York: Random House, 1985), 45-46, 55.

[2]Baldwin, 45-46.

[3]*Historic Resources of the Lowcountry* (Yemassee, SC: Lowcountry Council of Governments, 1979), 63.

[4]*Historic Resources of the Lowcountry,* 63, 95-97, 114; Baldwin, 45-46, 62-63, 99, 114.

[5]*Historic Resources of the Lowcountry,* 96.

[6]Samuel G. Stoney, *Plantations of the Lowcountry* (Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1938), 80, 223; Baldwin, 113-14.

[7]*Historic Resources of the Lowcountry,* 63, 95-97, 114.

[8] Kennedy, 45-46; George C. Rogers, Jr., *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), 82.

[9]Baldwin, Jr., 62-63.

[10] Cotton became the predominant crop in South Carolina in the decades after the invention of the cotton gin in 1793.

[11] Buchanan, et. al., "Architectural Investigations at Snee Farm" (Friends of Snee Farm, 1991), 7. Style, method of construction, and other physical evidence support the circa 1828 date of construction. Additionally, Mathews purchased the estate for $1,230 less than it cost the previous owner Francis G. Deliesseline, suggesting that Mathews rather than Deliesseline built the existing house.

[12] Historic American Building Survey, 9-10.

[13] Plat Number 2354.

[14] Plat Number 5564.

[15] See Historic American Building Survey for complete building description and measured drawings.

[16] The site, which was originally entered from the south, is currently oriented to the north. The south elevation of the main house was designed as the main front and will herein be described as the front elevation of the house.

## CHAPTER THREE: MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

The Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resources Stewardship Division offers the following management recommendations to help resource managers identify areas for further research, expand existing programs, and maintain records related to historic cultural resources. These management recommendations are a direct result of the program to update the List of Classified Structures (LCS). Included are some preliminary recommendations for the management and treatment of cultural resources that may require additional funding and which should be incorporated into the park's Resource Management Plan and reflected in PMIS project statements..

The daily life of Charles Pinckney is somewhat of an enigma. In order to draw a more complete picture of his life and try to determine how and when he used Snee Farm, a special history study of Charles Pinckney is currently being undertaken by Marty Matthews of the University of South Carolina. This study will comprehensively examine Charles Pinckney's correspondence, deeds, wills, estate inventories, and suits at law. It is recommended that this study be published and made available to historians and researchers.

No collected edition of Charles Pinckney's writings has ever been published. Although Pinckney's personal papers were destroyed in an 1861 fire, numerous pamphlets, speeches, and letters are available in various published and unpublished sources. Collecting Pinckney's writings and making them available at the site would greatly benefit scholars and students. If funds are available, publication of Pinckney's collected writings should also be considered. A preliminary bibliography of Pinckney writings is included in this document.

Up to fifty slaves lived on Snee Farm, and their contributions to the cultural and physical landscape cannot be overstated. A special history study of Gullah culture and life ways is necessary to gain a more complete understanding of the life of the slaves. This study, currently underway, should be used to increase the interpretation of Gullah life at Snee Farm and the contributions of African Americans to its success.

*Figure 33, Intrepretation of archeological site*

The site derives much of its significance from the demonstrated *in situ* archeological deposits associated with the tenure of Charles Pinckney. The park is in an exciting position to demonstrate how archeology can expand on the understanding of history. The park should continue to expand upon its interpretation of these archeological sites for park visitors.

As funding permits, additional archeological research should be conducted. There are a number of other facilities that are expected to exist on a plantation of this size. Archeological research could uncover these facilities, including a plant nursery, slave cook house, slave hospi-

*Figure 34, View of Snee Farm*

tal, spinning and weaving shop, dairy, stable, barns, blacksmith shop, storage facilities, and livestock areas. Archeological research may also uncover specialized activity areas related to indigo processing, animal husbandry, tobacco and cotton production, as well as other agricultural pursuits. Future excavations in the slave village and east yard have the potential to contribute to the understanding of the full context of everyday life for field slaves and house slaves.

Although the farm's original 715 acres have been dramatically reduced to twenty-eight acres, the farm still has integrity as an agricultural site. The views of the marshes and fields are intact and appear largely the same as during Pinckney's tenure. It is critical that these vistas be maintained. Development in these areas should be avoided. Additionally, attempts should be made to identify and reseed the fields with native grasses.

Rice cultivation was the underpinning of Pinckney's wealth and the daily occupation for many of the Snee Farm slaves. The existence of the levee is evidence of the dams and levees that allowed the successful cultivation of the crop. A footpath to the levee should be cleared and the levee should be interpreted.

Evidence indicates that the original marker or cenotaph to Colonel Pinckney erected at Snee Farm in the 1780s was placed horizontally on the ground on a low brick platform. The current replacement marker stands as a vertical tablet, which helps visitors understand that it is a replacement. The original cenotaph is located at Christ Church, one quarter of a mile from Snee Farm. Visitors should be encouraged to visit Christ Church to view the original cenotaph.

The presence in the Charleston area of NPS properties relating to the Revolutionary War (Fort Moultrie), the early national period (Charles Pinckney), and the Civil War (Fort Sumter) offers a unique interpretive opportunity. Charles Pinckney's career forms a link between the ideals of the Revolutionary generation and those of the fire-eating secessionists of the antebellum period. The South Carolinians who led their state out of the union in 1860 believed themselves faithful to the republican principles of Jefferson, Charles Pinckney, and John C. Calhoun. Methods of interpreting these linkages at Charles Pinckney National Historic Site should continue to be explored.

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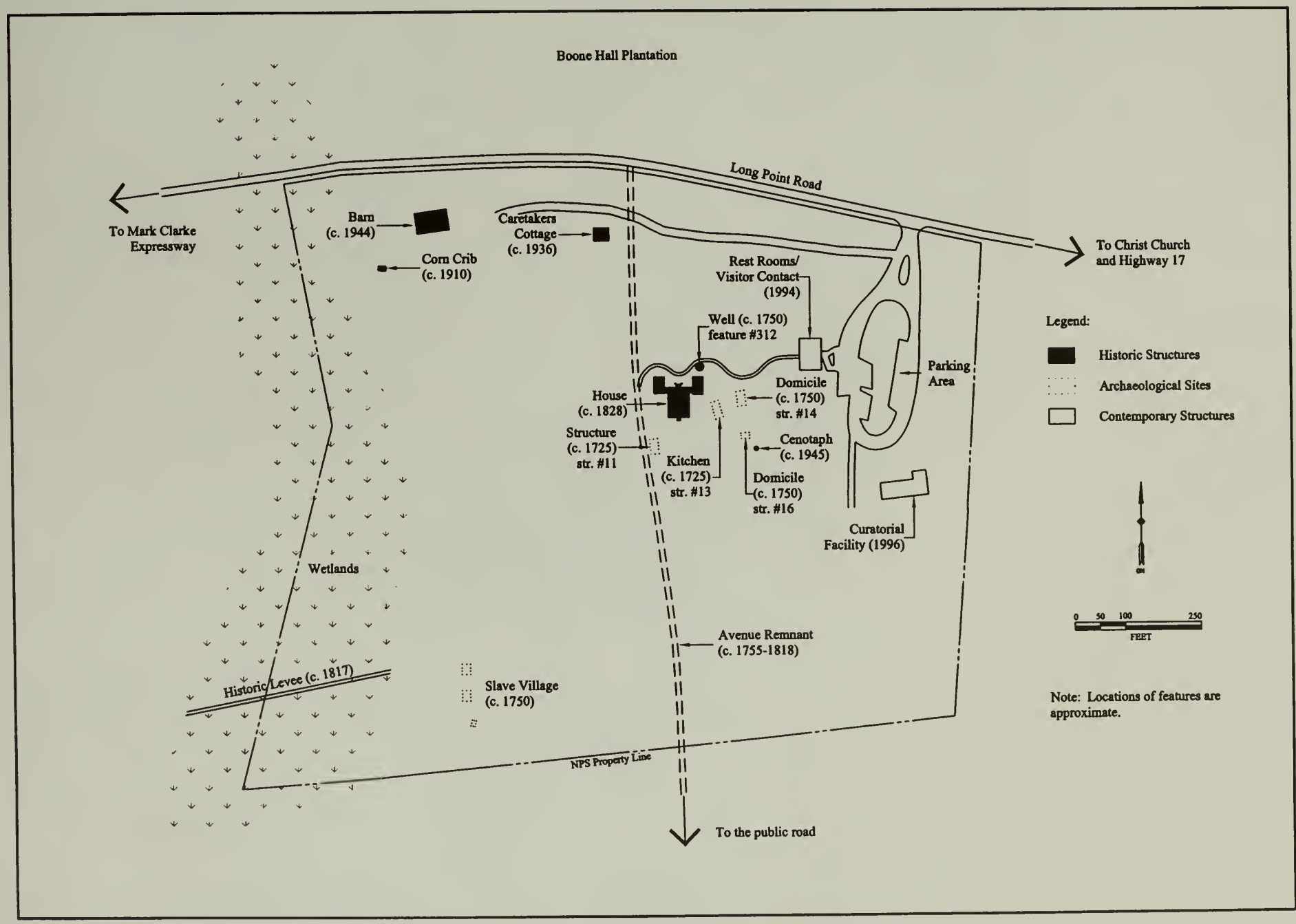
# APPENDIX A: HISTORICAL BASE MAP


Boone Hall Plantation
Long Point Road
To Mark Clarke Expressway
To Christ Church and Highway 17
Barn (c. 1944)
Corn Crib (c. 1910)
Caretakers Cottage (c. 1936)
Rest Rooms/ Visitor Contact (1994)
Well (c. 1750) feature #312
Parking Area
House (c. 1828)
Domicile (c. 1750) str. #14
Structure (c. 1725) str. #11
Kitchen (c. 1725) str. #13
Cenotaph (c. 1945)
Domicile (c. 1750) str. #16
Curatorial Facility (1996)
Wetlands
Avenue Remnant (c. 1755-1818)
Historic Levee (c. 1817)
Slave Village (c. 1750)
NPS Property Line
To the public road
Legend:
Historic Structures
Archaeological Sites
Contemporary Structures
0 50 100 250
FEET
Note: Locations of features are approximate.

U.S. Department of the Interior • National Park Service • Southeast Region